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ABSTRACT

Little has been compiled relating to research on the 300 Southern, rural majority-black public school districts. The question of how to desegregate these districts has been as difficult to answer as it has been in the big cities. For several years the Federal government has applied a different set of standards for desegregation compliance, but now the majority-black districts must technically meet the same desegregation standards to continue receiving Federal funds. The statistical tables and analysis in this report identify which districts are actually majority-black. On-the-spot reports from seven representative school districts reveal data about the history and economics of the areas, as well as attitudes of both blacks and whites on state and community levels as to the future of the public schools. [Part of the statistical appendix (p.56) will not reproduce clearly in hard copy because of the size of the print.] (Author/DM)

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Majority-Black School Districts

in the

11 Southern States

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Race Relations Information Center
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with the cooperation of
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Ed Hamlett, a native of Kentucky, has been active in civil rights since his college days and formerly was with the Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D. C. He reported on the seven majority-black districts as a special assignment for RRIC.

Glenda Watters, a native of Texas, made several studies and reports on race and education while with the research department of the Southern Regional Council. She compiled the statistical tables on the majority-black districts as a special assignment for RRIC.

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Additional copies may be obtained from Race Relations Information Center, P. O. Box 6156, Nashville, Tenn., 37212. for $2.00 a copy.

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Majority-Black Districts
In the South

Introduction

by Jim Leeson

In more than 300 of the 2,780 public school districts in the South, the majority of the district enrollment is black. The percentages range from barely over 50 per cent black to as high as 70 or 80 per cent black, and, in some few instances, to all black. The exact number of these majority-black districts—most of them small, rural ones—is unknown, for little research has been compiled on them.

The question of how to desegregate these majority-black rural districts has been as difficult to answer as in the big cities. How can the public school system be preserved? How can the white minority be retained within the local public schools and prevented from fleeing to segregated private schools or leaving the community? Will the white power structure reduce its support of a desegregated majority-black system? How can blacks obtain a voice and representation in the operation of the public schools?

These are some of the questions confronting the majority-black districts. Because of these problems, the federal government for several years applied a different set of standards for desegregation compliance. But now these majority-black districts technically must meet the same desegregation standards to continue receiving federal funds.

Because of the little information available on majority-black districts and their problems, Race Relations Information Center joined with the American Friends Service Committee, the Southern Regional Council and the Southern Education Foundation in this special project. The report does not spell out any answers. The answers, whatever they might be, may lie within the on-the-spot reports made by Ed Hamlett in seven selected districts, or in the statistical tables and analysis by Glenda Watters.

The first problem was to determine which districts are actually majority-black in enrollment. There is no official list, although an HEW source reported 334 majority-black districts in 10 of the 11 Southern states, excluding Texas. Mrs. Watters used the HEW compliance forms for the 1969-70 school year to determine which districts had majority-black enrollments in 10 states. In Alabama, where every district is under court order to desegregate, Mrs. Watters was unable to obtain the district-by-district figures from the federal court and had to obtain incomplete figures from other sources.

This survey lists the identifiable 295 majority-black districts in the South for last year, and at least another 40 districts are believed to be majority-black also. The number by states are:

State	*Majority-Black Districts*	*Total School Districts*
Alabama	14	118
Arkansas	37	388
Florida	3	67
Georgia	53	192
Louisiana	17	67
Mississippi	56	150
North Carolina	27	155
South Carolina	36	92
Tennessee	4	151
Texas	24	1,265
Virginia	25	135
	295	2,780

Desegregation statistics show that most of these majority-black districts have small percentages of their black students in schools with whites. It is ironic that the first school desegregation suits from the South originated in two majority-black counties—Clarendon County, S. C., and Prince Edward County, Va. These two counties were defendants in the original Supreme Court cases that brought about the 1954 ruling to end school segregation. Today both have small percentages of actual desegregation.

The latest figures obtainable from the Office for Civil Rights, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, show that Prince Edward County's school system is 97.2 per cent black, with most of the whites still attending a segregated private school. The district's 1,660 black students attend the five desegregated public schools with 48 whites. Clarendon County has two majority-black districts—Clarendon No. 2 is 71.8 per cent black, and Clarendon No. 3 is 53.2 per cent. Neither district has whites in predominantly black schools, and the number of blacks in predominantly white schools is 62 students for No. 2 and 11 in No. 3. (Clarendon No. 1 figures were not available.)

Statistics can only tell part of the desegregation story. Writer Ed Hamlett spent several weeks visiting four districts in Mississippi and three in South Carolina, selected as being representative of the different types of majority-black districts. He studied the history of the community and the economics of the area. Hamlett talked to people at the state capitals and to whites and blacks at the community level, finding many of the expected things but also a number of contradictions. His main question was: What is the future of the public schools?

In one South Carolina courtroom, the family squabble of a black pulpwood worker served to illustrate the problems that underlie desegregation of the schools and providing a quality education for both races.

A woman professor of sociology who contributed money to a private school was also "branded an extreme liberal by some." As she explained to Hamlett, "I wouldn't send my daughter to one of those overnight schools," but on the other hand, she would "hate to have her held back in a totally integrated school."

One legislator, a dairy farmer, greeted Hamlett with a handful of notes that he had prepared in advance, eager to tell of his accomplishments during three years in office. In reorganizing the school board, the size had been increased to nine members to add three Negroes but he had kept the board appointive to keep "the illiterates and racists" off.

Talks with black parents turned up instances where their children still were bused by under-capacity white schools to overcrowded black ones. Or the black kids attended separate classrooms within a "desegregated" white school. Compulsory attendance laws and dropouts are problems for both whites and blacks.

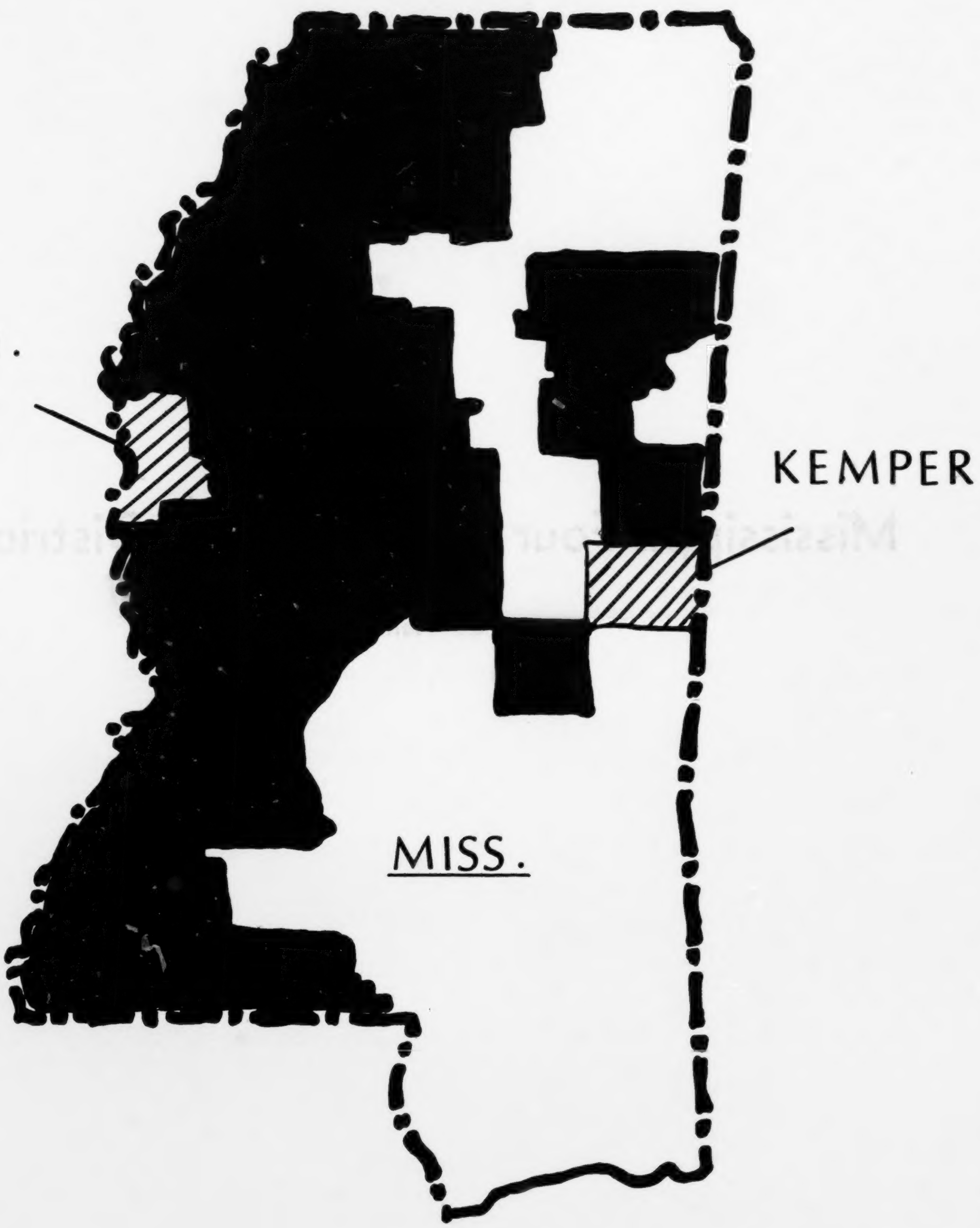
Some schoolmen have tackled the job of desegregating and instituted new programs, while others have suffered physical ailments under the pressure of satisfying the courts and the community. In one Mississippi district, Hamlett found that a statistical report to a federal court failed to note that one school had a racial balance of whites and blacks, and the court had permitted closing of the school.

A Mississippi mayor, with a grandson in a segregated private school, emphasized the necessity of public schools and feels that private schools "just won't do" in the long run. The Hollandale, Miss., mayor, J. W. Fore, told Hamlett of his concern for the effect of the white exodus from the public schools:

"It's unfortunate that a bunch of big planters have been able to sway the people to do their way. One of them said, when I told him that the white workers would move out, 'Hell, let them move.' Maybe I'm wrong, maybe they can run both school systems. But how can you run a town where the wealthy people have their children in private school and the working people have to move?"

Mississippi: Four Majority-Black Districts

by Ed Hamlett



MISSISSIPPI—The dark areas represent the Mississippi counties having at least one school district with a total enrollment over 50 per cent black. The two shaded counties—Kemper and Washington—are the location of the majority-black districts reported in detail by Ed Hamlett.

The View From The Capital*

Teachers, students, and money. That's what it takes as an absolute minimum to set up a school system. To dismantle a system, however, requires the elimination of only one of the three. Because there is no state compulsory school attendance law, Mississippi has had less than a full enrollment of students since the mid-fifties; because its teachers' salaries are the lowest in the nation, there has been difficulty in attracting and holding teachers, especially the graduates of its own teacher-training institutions; and because per capita income is the lowest in the nation, there is less tax money for education. But a prodigious effort has been made in recent years to remedy part of the problem.

Mississippians contribute a higher percentage of their incomes to education than citizens in any other state except Arkansas and Louisiana. In the industrially poor South, the state pioneered in attracting new industry, and its growth rate in manufacturing employment has been the highest in the Southeast in recent years. Last year, in a special session, the state legislature raised annual teachers' salaries $1,000. But the compulsory school attendance law, which was repealed after the 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision, stands little chance of re-enactment soon. Still, most student-aged youngsters go to school. In 1968-69, about 88 per cent of those eligible enrolled in public school and another 4-5 per cent were in private schools in the state, according to the State Department of Education (SDE).

The *Alexander* decision of October 29, 1969, by the U. S. Supreme Court directly affected 30 Mississippi school districts. By implication, the court said that all districts must eliminate their dual school systems. In Mississippi this means 148 units in 82 counties. Some 65 of these districts are majority-black. While there seems to be no question about continuation of a state-supported public school system, some observers fear that public schools might not survive in many of the majority-black districts.

The concern is based on a belief that whites would not support the schools with their children and their taxes. While blacks would presumably still be interested in an education, the 25 per cent local contributions for public schools might be eliminated altogether, since whites pay as much as 90-95 per cent of the local school taxes. Eliminating the local contribution, which pays a portion of teachers' salaries, would cause many instructors—particularly the more qualified—to leave for jobs in areas with higher salaries.

What will happen in the coming months is not at all clear; what has transpired since January 1, 1970, is a bit easier to describe, though there is some discrepancy about what took place.

The State Department of Education (SDE) predicted that about 595,000 students would enroll for school in September, 1969. Only 575,000 did. Between September and mid-January the average daily attendance (ADA) dropped from 550,000 to 517,300; enrollment, perhaps a better measure of intent, dropped about 14,000 during the same period. But many of the districts ordered to desegregate completely did not do so until February. In that month, enrollment decreased by another 11,000, while ADA was down to just under 509,000, a drop of over 8,000. However, the SDE said that February was a bad month because of a flu epidemic. Also, its figures, reported to the 1970 legislature, show that from September to February for the 1968-69 school year the ADA was down by 24,000.

Appearing on the ABC Network's "Issues and Answers" after some of the dust had settled in the "mid-year districts," Gov. John Bell Williams said that 60,000 students had left the schools as a result of the court-ordered mergers. One perplexed Jackson newspaperman said that he and his colleagues had no idea where the governor got the figure. The SDE surveyed 48 "court-ordered" districts, and reported that 22,519 students had left school between December and the beginning of February. Not to be outdone, the State Department of Audit conducted a pupil count and published a "Comparison of Attendance of Pupils In The Various School Districts of the State Before and After the Dates of Court Ordered Reorganization Thereof." In some cases it used State Department of Education ADA figures for the previous year and in other cases it used numbers from some other source. As of Wednesday, March 11, 1970, it showed a decrease, in about 50 districts, of 30,568 students since 1968-69, and of 29,898 since the first half of 1969-70. The key figure in its report was the 15 per cent decrease for the surveyed districts.

Wilson F. Minor, the Jackson correspondent for the *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, on March 8 wrote: "As of last week, 287,430 public school students—more than half the total enrollment of the state—were attending what the federal courts have called 'unitary' school systems in which all vestiges of the old 'dual' system have been wiped out." He also said "Mississippi possibly had the most integrated—from the standpoint of racial balance—public school system in the nation." Citing a loss of 23,100 students from "newly integrated districts," Minor reported a 4.2 per cent decrease in statewide enrollment. Dr. Garvin Johnston, state superintendent of education, was quoted in the *Jackson Daily News* of April 1, as reporting a loss of 25,000 students from 84 unitary districts, or about 8 per cent of the pupils in these districts, and 27-28,000 (4 per cent) statewide. According to Dr. Johnston, 64 districts still were not in compliance with the *Alexander* decision.

Finally, national columnist Jack Anderson, successor to Drew Pearson, jumped into the debate. His column in the Greenville (Miss.) *Delta Democrat-Times* of April 29, entitled "State Fakes Student Counts," said:

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*Mr. Hamlett visited Mississippi in the Spring 1970.

> "For two decades, Mississippi has systematically faked school enrollment figures to keep black children on the edges of illiteracy. Poor whites have suffered almost equally from the official deception . . .
>
> "Buried in the statistics on page 13 of his Statistical Data bulletin for 1968-69, for example, is the Negro 12th grade enrollment: 12,383. But under a more impressive heading on page 20, Johnston brags that 14,465 blacks are enrolled in the 12th grade, a figure padded by 15 per cent.
>
> "Johnston's chief statistician, Ruby Thompson, conceded to this column that the schools today cannot account for 11,000 'ghosts' who are carried on the rolls."

Anderson says that he talked with Dr. Johnston about the fakery claims, and that Johnston called the claims a "lie" and that his figures were absolutely accurate. Another observer said that, if anything, the exaggerated figures would help financial matters since the state appropriations are based on Average Daily Attendance, the figures which Anderson claims are "just as easy to use . . . to deprive black schools."

At the time of the statistical speculation, the SDE had submitted to the legislature a $139.4 million budget for the Minimum Foundation Program, which is the state's floor for teachers' salaries. The legislature, over the protests of the Mississippi Education Association, a white group, and the Mississippi Teachers Association, a black group, and other organizations supporting public education, reduced the budget by $11.8 million using the 8 per cent drop in attendance as its guide. The SDE had hoped for an appropriation that would permit a 7 per cent "cost-of-living" pay increase for teachers. For a while many educators feared that no increase would pass. Finally, the legislature restored $4.5 million of the budget cut, giving the teachers a 4 per cent increase.

The SDE and other supporters of public education were greatly disturbed over the budget cut. They predicted that many of the children who had dropped out of school would "drift back" and that there would not be enough money to pay for needed teachers. Now operating on an annual rather than a biennial budget, the legislative supporters of public education responded that they could appropriate any funds necessary when they reconvene in January. Frank Carlton, of Greenville, a member of the House Appropriations Committee, said that although "the legislature did not have to cut the $11.8 million, under the law the money would have come back to the state treasury anyway since the payments are made to local districts on the basis of the ADA. This would have tied money up which was needed for other expenditures."

He and another Washington County legislator, Doug Abraham, see the 4 per cent salary increase as "an index of the real feelings of the legislature for support of the public schools. It's a token raise and we realize it, but we want them to know we support them. It's a vote of confidence, and a very significant increase for Mississippi. The political thing would have been to pass it next year, an election year; it's even more significant that it was done in an off year."

Carlton predicts that whites will continue to leave the public schools, that the "process we have seen started will at least remain in force and accelerate for a while, then they will start going back to the public schools. Then maybe they'll appreciate our efforts to retain something for them to go back to. You don't find any legislators hardly who want to destroy the public schools. Some are formerly avid supporters and now support private schools, but even they are supportive of public schools. The bill to pay each child a grant to use wherever he pleased was defeated on the House floor; I figured it would pass. But people had guts enough to vote against it."

But many public school supporters saw the $11.8-million cut as a vote of "no confidence" in the schools, which could only encourage defections. They would have had the legislature pass the full appropriation as a demonstration that it believed the flight of whites was only a temporary thing. One supporter said, "The public schools got a rap in the mouth. Some saw the 4 per cent pay raise as what was taken away rather than what was given since other state employees were getting a 7 per cent increase."

Robert Clark, the only black member of the Mississippi legislature, said of the 4 per cent raise, "Charles Johnson [MEA executive] did some good lobbying in the education committee. Once they brought it out to the floor they couldn't vote against it in public. If there had been a secret ballot on the floor, the teachers wouldn't have got a four-hundredths of 1 per cent raise. The legislature shouldn't have cut the $11.8 million, either. It shouldn't base its estimate of ADA on two months of figures when the people are emotionally upset. Now with the decreased appropriation, if the whites do come back to school next fall, then the black children will suffer. The black teachers will have overloaded classes and the whites will have lower ratios."

A former teacher and assistant principal for 14 years, Clark was elected by a margin of 116 votes out of 7,200 cast. There's a "chance that my district may be reapportioned, and I might be gerrymandered out," he said. "It depends on whether the courts do it or whether the legislature does it. If I lose out I'll run for county superintendent." He expects local school millage to "be cut all over Mississippi. Whites, including the legislators, feel that they should not have to pay for two school systems since their kids are in private schools."

Assistant State Superintendent of Education R. W. Griffith said, "the cause of public education in Mississippi is at the lowest point it has ever been since July 4, 1870, when the schools were started. It's a pathetic situation. I'm very pessimistic about the next few years. Teacher morale is very low; in some cases they're just baby sitting. In the majority black districts they'll work out a private versus public school deal 'til things get settled down. Time will heal things, but there never will be a return to the status quo before desegregation. A lot of the whites will return; it's already happening in some instances. After the initial change the alternatives compel you to change your thinking. We need to try to work this thing out together; it's a pain in the neck now."

Asked about local financial support, Griffith said, "I'm afraid they'll do like Calhoun County, S. C., and cut the millage. They're already talking about cutting it in Humphreys, Kemper, and Noxubee counties now. It's one way to undermine the public schools—a bad way, but one way to knock the sand out of the support programs." What about poor whites? "The poor whites can't afford private schools. I understand they're saying, 'We're gonna have to join up with the niggers' in some areas. I predict they'll do this. But then again, he may just go on sending them to public school and never say anything to the Negroes. There may be no actual collusion."

What about black elected local officials? "Whites vote in a bloc. Negroes never have voted in a bloc. Negroes are more suspicious of Negroes running for public office than of whites." Will white teachers desert the schools? "A lot have already left. They're not able to adjust to this terrific change. They can't get it out of their heads that this whole thing has a punitive element. We've had some pretty rough times with HEW and the courts. And why [did they do it] at mid-term. Couldn't they wait until September? That's why it seemed so punitive." Have federal education funds helped? "They're doing a lot of good. We got 10 million more this year than last."

One of the primary concerns of all people engaged in support of public or private schools is the supply of teachers. There were approximately 23,000 classroom teachers, librarians and guidance counsellors in Mississippi public schools at the beginning of this school year. One newspaper columnist has estimated that 1,000 teachers have left during the year. While 1,000 of 23,000 is less than 5 per cent, it must be borne in mind that the 1,000 are mostly white teachers of a total in this group of roughly 13,000.

In a letter to the members of the education committee of the Mississippi House asking for a 7 per cent pay increase, Supt. Garvin Johnston said, " . . . It is difficult to understand why public school teachers have been singled out as the only employees of the state who will not receive an increase in salary by this legislature. . . . I must point out to you that the dedicated and professional teachers of this state who have stayed with their jobs have made it possible for Mississippi to maintain a state system of public schools. . . . Without some increase, there is every indication that many of our most able teachers will not be returning to our classrooms next year. They will be seeking employment in other states if they continue to teach. . ."

No doubt the 4 per cent increase will encourage some teachers to stay with the public schools. Many, however, already have joined the staffs of various private schools, and more are expected to do so as additional districts are brought into compliance with the law.

In Indianola, Sunflower County, where the Citizens' Council was organized in the mid-fifties, 39 of 41 white teachers are reported to have left the schools. Practically every edition of the state's newspapers, and even the magazine of the Mississippi Education Association announces the appointment by some newly organized private school of a group of teachers or a principal or coach who formerly was employed in a public school. In 1968-69, the MEA had 144 private school members, though many of them were at long-established parochial schools. According to a publication of the State Department of Education, "Nonpublic Schools, 1968-69" there were about 129 private schools in the state. Of these, 58 were Roman Catholic, 16 were of various Protestant denominations (primarily Episcopalian) and 55 were nonsectarian.

A reasonable estimate is that almost all of the non-Catholic Schools were set up within the last five years and that most of them are all-white. These 129 schools had about 1,300 faculty members for over 23,000 students. One estimate that seems fairly reliable is that there are now about 100 "hastily organized private schools in Mississippi today." Since many opened for grades one through eight and are expanding to a full 12 grades next year, presumably they will need more faculty. Those schools mentioned above have a student-faculty ratio of about 17½ to 1; most private school administrators are seeking a ratio of no more than 25-1 which bests the state by two. Most feel they will have no difficulty acquiring qualified instructors.

In Tunica County, where two white students of 441 returned to school the second semester, the school administration asked Atty. Gen. A. F. Summer if they might continue to pay teachers who had left to teach in private schools. He told them that they "have the legal right to do so." The U. S. Department of Justice went into federal court in early April to enjoin the State Board of Education, of which Summer is a member, from paying these and any other teachers, arguing that by so doing the state would violate federal law prohibiting a dual school system.

The Mississippi Teachers Association (MTA) delegate assembly, the majority-black organization, voted in March to merge with the MEA by a vote of 310-0 one day after the MEA turned down the proposal by a vote of 348-217. President-elect A. B. Peyton of the MTA suggested two reasons why he thought the MEA, in the face of probable expulsion by the National Education Association, voted it down: (1) The interim period of six years worked out by a joint committee of MTA-MEA recommended that the presidency alternate between a black and a white, and (2) A state legislative resolution condemned the merger, and teachers did not want to risk the possibility of incurring the legislators' wrath when a pay raise was hoped for. John O. Ethridge, head of the SDE office of Informational Services, which assists local school districts in matters pertaining to school desegregation, added another reason: "The NEA is like a civil rights group with a high and mighty attitude." The NEA expelled the MEA, leaving the MTA as the only nationally recognized teacher organization in the state. Mississippi and Louisiana were the only two states that turned down the merger.

One educational measure that appears to have benefitted by recent school turmoil in the state is educational television. After struggling along on a "bare-bones" budget for the last few years, the legislature appropriated more than $5 million for the state facility, which eventually will blanket the state with at least eight stations. Editor Paul Pittman predicted the outcome of the legislative action in late January when he reported the prospect of full faculty integration in the public schools had breathed new life into ETV supporters. As the debate over the issue took shape, some private school supporters backed the measure as a way of benefitting *all* the school children in the state. At any rate, the ETV people were given more money than they asked for, much to the dismay of those who supported the 7 per cent pay increase for teachers.

The overriding concern of leading supporters of the public schools was the effect of white defections on the long-term economic and political life of the state, particularly of the majority black areas. In February the student government associations of seven predominantly white colleges passed resolutions "strongly supporting the continuation and improvement of public education in the state." Calling for "more, not less funding," the president of the Mississippi Intercollegiate Council, which represents 66,000 students, said, "Mississippi must maintain a strong public school system if the state is to progress economically and industrially." There were indications, however, that more funding might not be forthcoming in some areas. In Pontotoc County, a majority-white district, a bond issue of over $1 million, which had been passed by 93 per cent of the voters in 1968, had no takers in the bidding. K. G. Rayburn, attorney for the Board of Supervisors, said, "Mississippi buyers appear not to be bidding on school bond issues within the state in order to use it as a lever in influencing the federal government on the school integration question."

In Winston County, which is also majority-white, voters in January defeated a $1.5 million bond issue to provide school facilities to comply with a federal court order. The vote was 2,130 to 1,919. And in the next county—Noxubee—blacks voted with their feet to protest a two-stage court order; 3,400 black students boycotted the schools.

Billy Skelton, columnist for the *Jackson Clarion-Ledger,* on Jan. 25 gave two main reasons why whites stay in the public schools: economic and extra-curricular. "As one sportswriter said last week, a boy who wants to get a football scholarship to Ole Miss is not going to get it 'for playing hopscotch at Jug Fork Academy.'" An attempt by a group called Mississippians for Public Education to get prominent college athletes to make statements in support of the public schools fell through. A reason in at least one case was that the player had a number of relatives in a private school.

Three Districts in Washington County

Jeff Davis is the chairman of the five-member Board of Supervisors of Washington County—the county's chief governing body. Davis has been a supervisor for more than 18 of the 34 years he has lived in the county. Before moving to the Avon Community, in the Western Line school district of the county, he ran a store in Doddsville in Sunflower County, where he knew Sen. James O. Eastland, who makes his home in Doddsville.

The board has authority to appropriate up to a maximum set by the state legislature for operating the schools in the districts of the county. Usually the supervisors grant the amount of money requested by the school board. There are four school districts in Washington County: The Western Line, Hollandale, and Leland Consolidated Districts and Greenville Separate Municipal District. The Board of Supervisors has fiscal authority over all but Greenville.

The three consolidated districts were ordered to eliminate their dual school systems in January, 1970. Since then, slightly over 1,000 students of the September combined enrollment of 8,342 have left the schools. Because of this 12 per cent loss of students, the vast majority of whom are white, many people have speculated that either the supervisors or the school boards will reduce the appropriations for the schools for next year, when the matter is decided in October. Davis answers, "We never have refused to appropriate the requested legal amount. The school board makes their budget. We'll give them what they ask for. I don't believe it will be cut."

Davis has six grandchildren in the private academy at Arcola. He says they are there "on account of the busing past Riverside [the formerly all-white school in the Western Line district] to go on up to O'Bannon [a formerly all-black school on the outskirts of Greenville], which is 20 or more miles from Avon. It is just too far. The older high school students started to Riverside, but then they got disheartened after the bomb scare and went to the private school. They just wasn't having any school. They couldn't keep their mind on it."

There are three schools in the Western Line district; at one time all were 12-grade schools. The plan under which the district now operates calls for all children in grades 7-12 to go to Riverside, while students in grades 1-6 go either to Glen Allan, in the southern part of the district, or to O'Bannon, in the northern part. This means that primary grade white students who live in the Avon Community, which is in the middle part of the district, must go considerably farther by bus than they did in December.

Davis says, "If they'd let the neighborhood colored and white go to the school nearest them, that would be fine, but it's not right for black or white to have to bus that far. My younger grandchildren are going to the private school because of the busing, not because of the integration." While he preferred freedom of choice ("Western Line has been getting along just fine on freedom of choice. We had a good many colored on freedom of choice."), he believes "after it all come up (the court ordered merger), it's all right to let them all go together. But I hope freedom of choice comes back. That's the way it ought to be." Will there be any white children in public school next year? "I believe there will be some," Davis replied.

Washington County, with 78,638 people in 1968, is the third largest county in the state and one of the largest majority-black counties in the South. With 300-400 Chinese (the largest group of Orientals in the state), and significant numbers of Jews, Italians and Syrians, along with the blacks and WASP's, it is a fairly cosmopolitan area compared with much of the Black Belt. Although the county as a whole is gaining in population, the three towns—Greenville, Leland, and Hollandale—are growing more rapidly. Of these three, Greenville is by far the largest.

One observer, who asked to remain anonymous, predicted that the rural areas of the county south of Greenville and Leland, losing both white and black population, "will continue to dry out while Greenville and Leland will continue to grow." With the court-ordered merger of the Hollandale and Western Line districts, both of which are heavily black, the "whites will run like hell." The out-migration from the rural areas is "tied in with the future of agriculture, which is dubious, and mechanization of the remaining plantations is what's happening. In Greenville you will see a drain off from the public schools of 100-200 upper-class whites who will support the [Washington County] day school. There will also be a falling off of the automatic support for schools propositions (bond issues, etc.) from black and white that we have had in the past. With the continued control of school boards by whites, it will be even more difficult to secure the support of black voters for school bond issues." Although "the black vote doesn't count in Washington County as a whole," in Greenville it is usually necessary to have substantial black voter support for the passage of bond issues.

"There could be a big move into Greenville from the rural areas specifically because the Greenville schools will be the most stable in the county. This could mean a proportionate increase in the white population by those who can't afford private schools." In the near future, he expects "the school board to tell the city council [which appoints board members] that it wants another black school board member" as a means of securing more support for school measures from the black community. "This will make the board three whites to two blacks. One of the whites will probably act as a swing vote."

Over the years of the civil rights movement, the NAACP has been continuously involved in the county. In the early and mid-sixties, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee organized there. However, since about 1965 the Delta Ministry project of the National Council of Churches has been the most active group in the county. Headquartered in Greenville, the "DM", as it is known by many, is more directly involved in Washington County than in most other areas of the Delta.

Willie Long, a black teacher in Greenville, says that "the DM is the only group with connections with organizations that can really provide help to people. The leaders, even though I don't always see eye to eye with them, are extremely good. They're especially good with kids. They don't just talk, they put up. It's an escape valve which the white community can't control. It's the only bright light for the black poor."

One white liberal who admits that some of the staff is O.K. while some is "anti-white," says that 99.5 per cent of the white community is against DM, and that they're "stumblebums who always lose." One of the losses to which he referred was the backing by the DM of three blacks who ran for the school boards in Leland, Hollandale, and Western Line, all of whom were defeated.

The DM has played a leading role in the school desegregation fight in the county and in much of the state. One white Mississippian who is concerned with school desegregation across the South on a day-to-day basis says that the Rev. Rims Barber, education director for the Delta Ministry, "knows more about the schools and school desegregation than any other person in the state. He did most of the background work for the suit by the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc., that resulted in the *Alexander* school desegregation decision" by the Supreme Court last October.

Barber "expects urbanization to increase in Greenville" as whites move into the city and as surrounding areas are annexed. "I expect a more urbanized, more ghettoized city to develop here," he said. He expects this move by whites from small towns and rural areas to the larger towns and cities will increase statewide with school merger: "Rosedale whites will move to Cleveland (in Bolivar County), Madison County whites will move into Jackson, and Kemper County whites will go to Meridian. The white working class will pick up and leave or move around more, and the upper-middle-class whites don't care." He expects some of the private schools to succeed, although other "fly-by-night types will fold. I can't see people settling for trash. The next big push after establishment of the private academies will be for accreditation, and a lot of them won't be able to make it. March is a good month for the private schools to raise money because the plantation owners get their crop diversion checks from the federal government. Some of these guys are sitting around with $50,000 in their pockets. They'll be able to hit a number of large contributors now. I can see people like [Sen. James O.] Eastland giving $10,000 this year, but not year after year."

Barber sees "control of the public schools as the major issue. The whites are showing more interest in control now than ever before, even in districts where the schools are all black. . . . Some districts will be abolished outright and placed in the control of the county superintendent. This can be done in a relatively short time, although in some cases it would require approval by the federal district court. I also expect some counties to cut the millage for local school support. Leflore County cut their mills by three last October. I expect a lot more juggling when the issue comes up this next October."

The whole matter of private schools and public school support will have long-range economic implications in these areas. "In periods of economic stagnation," Barber said, "such as the country is in, the [manufacturing] companies will be skeptical of making any moves anyway. Now they'll be even more skeptical. Thus, I would expect local officials to be very reticent about encouraging the private school movements."

Herbert M. Groce Jr., has lived in Greenville for about a year. As the executive director of the Delta Foundation, Groce is a black man who is committed to black capitalism. He believes that "basically the respect between the races will come through economics as more black capitalism is developed in the Delta. In some quarters some feel this is the only thing that the white man in this area understands. The Delta Foundation was given a charter to develop labor-intensive economic opportunities in the Delta and elsewhere so that the absolutely destitute can get jobs to live and survive, and that those opportunities will be tied to the national economic structure. That means we won't be making 'dashikis'. We'll be going after the profits."

Barber views the private school movement this way: "White people have got to recognize that if the public schools go down the drain they don't have a snowball's chance in hell of surviving economically, because the whole objective of those agencies dedicated to economic development of the state of Mississippi has been to attract industry from the outside. No industry in its right mind is going to transfer its management personnel, who want public education and who traditionally have availed themselves of public education, into a society where none is available."

The private school movement and concern among whites for the public education system have resulted in some rather interesting developments. White tractor drivers in the Mississippi Delta have included, as part of their contracts with planters, the provision that their children's private school tuition be paid by the planter. White parents are so disturbed by integration of faculties that they are sending their children into classrooms with transistorized tape recorders presumably to gather evidence on black teachers who are considered inadequate.

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Mrs. Sylvia Butler (not her real name), a waitress in one of Washington County's largest restaurants, moved to Leland recently with her two children after her marriage ended in divorce. Her children, a girl and a boy, are in public school in Leland, a small city of about 7,000 a few miles east of Greenville.

The Federal District Court ordered Leland Consolidated School District to abolish its dual system of schools, beginning with the second semester in January. Dean, the formerly all-white school, was converted to a secondary school for all children, and Lincoln, the formerly all-black school, became the elementary school. Mrs. Butler has a child in each school.

Her daughter, who is in high school, is one of two whites on her school bus. She complained that a black boy won't leave her alone on the bus and at school. Her mother told her to ignore him. "It wasn't anything much," Mrs. Butler said. "No different from what white boys will do. She likes her teachers. Most of them are black. They treat her real nice."

Mrs. Butler can't afford to send them to private school. "Some of her friends have been trying to get my daughter to drop out and go to private school with them next year, but as long as they don't get hurt they'll go to public school. If they do get hurt, they'll have to go back to Georgia and live with their father and go to school there," Mrs. Butler said.

Approximately 75 per cent of the 1,100 whites who were in Leland's public school first semester returned in February with 2,300 blacks. This high percentage was a surprise to some observers. The response of whites is attributed to statements by leaders of the white community that they would "stick" with the public schools. The small weekly newspaper in Leland supported the public schools and printed statements by various groups who backed them.

The question in the minds of many people, white and black, is what will happen next fall. A private school in the city now operates eight grades. Attempts by its organizers to work out an agreement with another group in Greenville to jointly operate a high school have broken down. Located nine miles south of Leland, the Deer Creek Academy will expand from 11 to 12 grades next year, but it is already assured of a capacity enrollment from families in the Hollandale district in which it is located.

Unlike Mrs. Butler, most working people in Leland and in Washington County do not have the option of sending their children to live with relatives in other states. They have essentially four choices: (1) to stick with the public schools; (2) to obtain a job for the mother or a second job for the father so they can afford private school; (3) to take their children out of school entirely; or (4) to move to another place.

Reports follow on three of the four districts in Washington County—Greenville, Western Line and Hollandale.

Greenville, Washington County

The Greenville Chamber of Commerce proclaims the city to be the "Service Center to Mainstream USA." The "mainstream" is, of course, the Mississippi River. Once the master of the area and the city, it is now seen as the servant. The flooding of the low, cypress swamps of the Delta, thousands of years before the white man settled the area, produced thousands of acres of rich soil. The richness grew the crops on which the farmers depended for several generations before diversion from cotton to other agricultural crops and later to manufactured products. But the flooding also had the people at their mercy until the great levee was completed in 1931. The present site of Greenville, which dates from Reconstruction, is the third for the small river city. Named for Revolutionary War General Nathaniel Green, friend of George Washington after whom the county was named, Greenville takes pains to set itself apart from its immediate neighbors in the Delta and especially from the rest of the state.

The Greenville Industrial Foundation has published a little booklet called "Our Town Is Different," a collection of essays written over a quarter of a century for books and national magazines by a man who has done a great deal to foster the myth and forge the reality of the city's "distinctive differences." That man, Hodding Carter II, is the founder and publisher of the *Delta Democrat-Times*.

Hodding Carter, II, totally blind, and in very poor health, has left "his town" to live in his native Louisiana. It is unlikely that he will ever return to the home that he maintains in Greenville, but he has left his namesake and his paper to continue the controversial course that he set in 1936 when William Alexander "Will" Percy persuaded him to leave Hammond, La., and his battles with Huey Long's legacy to come to Greenville. Hodding Carter III, the eldest of three sons, is now the editor of the *Delta Democrat-Times*.

"Big Hodding," as he is known to friends to distinguish him from his son, "Little Hodding," wrote of a number of Greenvillians in his books and essays, but no one is mentioned or quoted so frequently as Carter's dear friend, Will Percy. Author of the autobiographical *Lanterns on the Levee*, grandson of U. S. Sen. Leroy Percy, and a planter, soldier, and statesman as well, poet Will Percy, according to Carter, was the personification of *noblesse oblige*. But he too is gone. However, his cousin's son, Leroy Percy, whom Will Percy adopted, and Leroy's son, William Alexander Percy, Jr., carry on the Percy tradition in Greenville.

Carter wrote of other men: the two city judges—one an Irish-American Catholic and the other a Jew, in a city where 80 per cent of the people are Protestants; and an 88-year-old patriarch, Joe Weinberg, a Jewish banker, merchant and landowner, who was a native Greenvillian.

Like other small Southern cities, Greenville is much more open to the Jewish population than are larger places. While people are identified as Jewish, they do not seem to be discriminated against by the WASPs in a blatant manner. A "patriarch" of modern Greenville's Jewish community is Jake Stein of the Stein-Sherman family, which owns far more of Greenville's business district than bears its name. The Steins and Shermans are credited, along with the Percys, with bankrolling many of the endeavors which have enhanced the liberal reputation of the "service center to Mainstream USA."

Greenville's record of moderation in a state that is widely regarded to be the most reactionary in the nation is supported by its promoters with these examples:

- The city never gave Theodore Bilbo, Ross Barnett, or Paul Johnson (Jr. or Sr.) a majority in their bids for statewide office.
- Blacks have voted in the city, apparently without discrimination, for 25 years.
- While Senator Goldwater received a majority of the city's votes in 1964, it was nothing like his 8-1 statewide margin over Lyndon Johnson.
- Will Percy helped to fight the Ku Klux Klan after World War I, and it has never been a significant force in the community.
- The Citizens Council, organized a few miles away in Indianola, was never the power in Greenville that it has been and still is in many Southern towns.
- The professionally trained police department is not known for harassing civil rights demonstrators; to the contrary, it stands by to make certain that others don't either.

Greenville is regarded by many as having a "more liberal attitude for a number of years" on race. A man who moved to Greenville from a Tennessee city a few years ago believes that "people with influence are working and doing all they can for the public schools." His children attend schools in Greenville that are "more integrated (under freedom of choice) than the schools they would attend in Tennessee. Greenville is more sophisticated than the smaller towns around and is more like Northern towns where people don't tear down the schools." Unlike many Northern cities, however, the "housing patterns mean a certain amount of neighborhood integration" that spills over into the schools. He and his wife say that there are "more conversations going on between the races" through such groups as the Community Relations Committee, the Biracial Advisory Committee to the school board, and several churches and other religious groups, such as the Churchwomen United.

While many blacks will agree that Greenville is different in its attitudes on race, one black teacher who has been active in his community in working for school integration said, "Greenville has a liberal reputation, but this is not really the case; it is stretching it to call Greenville liberal. The community is polarized on the schools. It has made some bad mistakes on school integration and is in for trouble. I'm not too optimistic about the future."

A. B. Peyton, principal of Weston High School and president-elect of the Mississippi (black) Teachers Association, says that "Greenville is a good Southern town in that the power structure will listen to all segments of the community, but typical in that it won't really do anything it's not forced to do by community pressure. Blacks get lazy because of Greenville's reputation and rest on its laurels; and whites like to think they do things voluntarily. Greenville is different from most towns because the people in control don't mind stepping out, speaking up, and working to avoid a confrontation. It's not so much the elected officials that make a difference as the businessmen like Jake Stein and lawyers like Wes Watkins and Joe Wroten, and the Carters, plus black leaders like Dr. Matthew Page of the Head Start board and black postman Charles Moore. (Peyton became principal of Weston after black student and community protests forced the resignation of his predecessor early in the fall term.)

Another black man who is from the North and who has recently moved to Greenville says the "jobs situation for blacks is much worse than in the North. There are so many untrained people, and after blacks are trained there are few available jobs since the factories have their full complements of workers." He admits, though, that Greenville is better than some towns because "people will sit down and talk."

Since the beginning of the current school year, the matter of school integration and treatment of the black community in related educational matters has occupied the Greenville Municipal Separate School District above all else. At stake is the educational future of 12,400 students and a school system with over 500 teachers. Greenville is the fourth largest city in Mississippi and the largest majority-black town in the state. Its school system is the third largest. It has been growing steadily for two decades while the other Delta majority-black towns have declined in population.

Even though blacks represent a slight majority of the total population and about 57 per cent of the school enrollment, they do not have more registered voters than the whites. Of the five school board members, appointed by the city council, only one is black. No blacks serve on the city council. While a few blacks have been hired for positions in the school administration, none serves above the level of administrative assistant to the superintendent (he is the former principal of the oldest all-black high school).

School desegregation was launched when the school board voted on Jan. 21, 1965, to desegregate under a voluntary plan of freedom of choice. Writing in the *Virginia Quarterly Review* in the spring of 1965, Hodding Carter II said, "No other school board in the Deep South has taken similar action without compulsion. The vote was unanimous." Carter pointed out that the board acted to prevent the federal government from cutting off funds which the board felt were needed by the school children of the district. "The next day the mayor and the six members of the City Council endorsed the school board's epochal decision, not because such endorsement was necessary, but as an indication of community approval," Carter added.

Beginning in the fall, 1965, with grades 1, 2, 7, and 12, the three-step plan was completed with the fall, 1967, term. September, 1969, saw 1,112 (16.5 per cent) blacks in eight formerly all-white schools and 330 (5.9 per cent) whites in formerly all-black schools. Situations in which whites are enrolled in previously all-black schools are rare in the 149 Mississippi school districts as they are throughout the Black Belt.

Even though some of Greenville's schools are half-black and half-white, there are still eight (six elementary and two secondary) all-black institutions in the city, as well as one all-white elementary school. It is this situation which no doubt prompted HEW to notify the board in mid-November, following the Supreme Court's "at once" decision of Oct. 29, to submit a new desegregation plan by Dec. 17 that would terminate its dual school system.

Another factor that has caused concern among integration advocates is the failure of the district to meet the "one-in-six" ratio for faculty. Under this plan school districts in Mississippi's U. S. Northern District Court "were told to assure that at least one of every six faculty members in each school this year was of the opposite race of the majority of faculty members in the school," according to the *Delta Democrat-Times* of Nov. 11, 1969. Only six blacks and five whites of 508 teachers (about 2 per cent) were in "crossover" situations this school year.

One of the groups that has sought change in the overall system is the Ad Hoc Committee for Quality Education for Black People. In September this group of teachers and parents presented nine demands to the Greenville school board. It requested the support of the students at the two all-black high schools. One of the demands, which dealt with school administrative personnel, called for the appointment of blacks to be assistant superintendent, Title I co-ordinator, supervisors, administrative assistants in two departments (maintenance and food service), administrator of the child guidance center, and "parity of chairmanships on city-wide committees."

The results of this demand were the hiring of: the Title I co-ordinator, three supervisors, and one person added to the 10-member staff of the child guidance center, the staff of which had been all-white. The group demanded "special programs (enrichment and tutorial) be established for slow learners; additional teachers hired to take this special load; and an end to social promotions; establishment of committees to make specific recommendations on these programs at all levels." This demand was agreed to by the school board.

Willie Long, chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee and a biology teacher at Coleman High School, said that "the minute some of the demands were met on paper, the committee disbanded, and then the school board backed off." For example, one demand that "all vacancies (for school personnel) be announced, with criteria, selection policy, and conditions of contract available to all" had been agreed to by the board; however, the board, according to Long, "only announces the vacancies at all-black schools and vacancies at the white schools are announced after they are filled." Generally, Long doesn't believe "the group achieved its goal of bettering the school system." However, it "did teach the black community a lesson, and it brought the white community to the point of sitting down with blacks on the basis of equality."

Long is a native of Greenville and a 1955 graduate of Mississippi Valley State College, an all-black school in Itta Bena. Each summer, beginning in 1963, he has done graduate work in science outside the state. In the summer of 1969 he completed a master's degree in biology at Humboldt State College in Northern California, attending one more summer term than necessary so that his wife, also a teacher in the Greenville system, might finish her master's. He says the summers in Illinois, Pennsylvania and California opened his eyes to the fact that he "was educated in a closed situation" in Mississippi. "I was never active in civil rights, but I knew everybody in my community."

Long said that Robert Young, a former teacher who is now a Ford Foundation Fellow, "got involved first when he was at Minnesota. He came back to Greenville and talked to me, and I thought he was crazy. Now I don't. I started putting together my knowledge of my own community. I got angry over the misuse of federal funds, the academic shape black schools are in, and the hollow court victories." His children attend predominantly white schools under freedom of choice.

He says "freedom of choice was designed for whites and for blacks like me. But for the majority of blacks the system is no good. Up until I was in my 20's, I felt inferior to whites because I hadn't been around them. Now my kids don't feel that way after being in school with whites. As a teacher I can't support the separate-but-equal school idea that Roy Innis is pushing because I don't trust whites to live up to their promises. I have learned that the dollar follows the white kids."

Long sometimes doubts that his contract will be renewed for next year. He decided that he was going to get involved with his community regardless of the repercussions. If I'm fired I know I can make more money elsewhere than the $6,600 they pay me here." With an M.A. in biology and 11 years of teaching experience he isn't too worried about his economic future. "I already have job offers in Oregon and California. But I'm not materialistically oriented now as I was before I started to get involved with my community."

He says the things that happened to him and Young are "happening to all the younger black teachers and to some of the older ones. It involves more than integration. It goes into patriotism and respect for the 'sacred documents.' Things are going to get worse as more and more black teachers begin questioning and reading. Whites too must start to re-evaluate. A black man has to decide what to do when his kids come home and says a white called him a 'nigger.' He can't shield them from racism by moving away. My kids are learning to take their lumps." Long has "reservations about whites teaching black kids" because "some don't want to and some want to and can't." He says he expects "to have a much easier time teaching whites than most whites will teaching blacks. I dearly love to teach, and I don't mind teaching whites."

As chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee, Long was concerned that blacks take an active part in planning for school merger after it was known that the board must submit a plan. He called Dr. Hugh Alexander, chairman of the school board, and asked for representation in helping to draw up the plans, "but Dr. Alexander said 'no.' " Long then went to the Community Relations Committee, headed by Bill Percy, and explained the problem of representation and asked for representation by the Ad Hoc Committee.

The CRC then asked the school board for seats on the planning committee for the Ad Hoc group and the Business Men's Association. Long says the "superintendent scratched through these two groups and put up the Greenville Teachers Association (the black group), the Greenville Education Association (the white group), and the PTA's from the schools in the system." The group that was formed was called The PTA Advisory Committee.

The biracial Advisory Committee, selected in December, met in January to consider plans for a merger of the dual system in September. While HEW had called for merger at mid-year, the federal department did not press the matter, apparently because of the relatively good record of the system in the past and because the school board proposed that time be allowed for the biracial committee to come up with something that would be most acceptable to the entire community. Furthermore, a suit filed by black plaintiffs in mid-January, which included a plan for desegregating the schools in September and the faculties in February as "a token of good faith," precluded action by HEW as the plaintiff in the case. The district was, however, placed on a "deferred" status for further federal funding until the issue could be resolved by the courts.

The biracial committee of 22 members, 11 whites and 11 blacks, elected by 18 PTA's and the two teacher organizations (with two members each), studied three basic plans. Two were prepared by the school administration, and one, presented by the Ad Hoc Committee, was identical to a fourth plan prepared by the plaintiffs, according to Dr. W. B. Thompson, superintendent of schools.

Initially, all of the plans called for geographical zoning with no pairing of schools at the elementary level. Advisory committee members quickly disposed of a plan, by a vote of 16-1, which called for separation by sex of secondary pupils. (This had been submitted by the school administration.) Some members objected to the proposal submitted by the Ad Hoc Committee because it called for the construction of two new elementary schools. The third plan, also brought by the school administration, was felt to be unsatisfactory by some members because it would leave some elementary schools heavily black and some heavily white.

Chairman Alexander, a local dentist, spoke to one of the early meetings of the advisory committee. According to an article in the Jan. 16 *Delta Democrat-Times* (*DD-T*), "The committee heard stern words . . . about the importance of the committee in arriving at a plan to 'keep the students in the schools.' A large exodus of white students to private schools, Dr. Alexander said, would 'deprive them of a quality education' and possibly result in an all-black public school system which might be choked financially. That would lead to 'the loss of blue collar workers' which could 'turn the Delta into a wasteland,' he said. 'Part of your responsibility is to see that this doesn't happen'."

During the course of the deliberations by the PTA group, the plaintiffs' representatives met with some members, both black and white, of the committee to try to arrive at a plan that might be mutually acceptable. They were unsuccessful. The PTA group decided, early in its deliberations, not to consider any plans except those which utilized geographical zoning at the elementary level. It also resisted proposals which called for construction of new facilities. The plans drawn by the plaintiffs originally adhered to a strict geographical method, but, as has been said, called for construction.

Eventually, the plan which the plaintiffs submitted to the court, and which was known in advance to several white and black advisory committee members, called for pairing eight elementary schools, with two other elementary schools remaining as six-grade units. (Zoning-pairing combinations have been accepted by HEW in other Mississippi districts.) However, this method of bringing about more racial balance at the primary level was rejected by the biracial committee primarily for two reasons: (1) It did not adhere strictly to the geographical zoning idea; and (2) It would have required busing of some students which would have to be paid for out of district funds since the state does not provide money for busing within separate municipal districts.

Several attempts were made by the PTA group to get the plaintiffs to meet with it, but the plaintiffs refused because the advisory committee "supports a plan that is being pushed by the school board." Indeed, after six meetings in January, the *Delta Democrat-Times* reported on Jan. 27 that the group admitted it was " 'stymied' in its search for neighborhood zone lines that will not leave heavily black and white elementary schools," and the plan to which it had given most of its attention was drawn by the school administration.

One of the things that most upset blacks and whites was the provision for turning Weston Junior-Senior High, now an all-black school, into a high school only for 10th graders. Located in the Southwest section of the district, blacks living in North Greenville were concerned about transportation to the school, and few whites live very near the school which is surrounded for blocks by black families. A long-standing rivalry exists between Weston and Coleman High Schools, and many middle-class blacks in North Greenville reportedly resist the thought of their children attending Weston. Many whites are reluctant to have their children go to any formerly all-black school.

The *Delta Democrat-Times* reported that Delta Ministry Director Owen Brooks took the floor at a meeting of the black community and said, "It would be a disaster for black people to give endorsement to this ridiculous plan they've set before you. I've never in my life, nowhere in the United States, ever heard of a 10th grade school."

Rims Barber, education director for the National Council of Churches' Delta Ministry, did much of the work on the plan submitted by the plaintiffs to the court. He, as well as a biracial committee member, Willie Long, says that the plan submitted to the board by the biracial committee contained more elementary imbalance than the plan originally contained when the board submitted it to the advisory committee in January. He cites as an example the case of Weddington and Fulwiler schools. As originally submitted, Weddington would have been 66 per cent black and Fulwiler 42.6 per cent black. The intervention of a parents' group before the advisory committee caused the zone line separating the two schools to be moved so that Weddington ended up 89 per cent black and Fulwiler 20 per cent black. Barber said, "what they've done is put many of the poor and working-class whites who live over by the river in very heavily black schools. The rich whites have said, 'If they don't like it they can move to Memphis.' "

Black participation in the advisory committee deliberations dropped considerably over the 60 days of meetings. When the committee adopted the plan to submit to the school board, three blacks and 10 whites were present. Before voting on the plan a motion was passed to exclude the press. That vote was 9-4 with white Greenville attorney Joe Wroten and the three blacks voting against the motion to exclude. Then the proposal itself was approved 10-3. All of the 11 black advisory committee members voted later to support the plantiffs' plan.

The two plans—plaintiffs' and advisory committee's—can be summarized as follows:

The plaintiffs'—Eleven elementary schools would be joined in a "zoning-pairing combination." Eight schools would be paired into four groups of two each with a 51-73 per cent black range; children would go to one school for grades 1-3 and the other for grades 4-6. Two schools would remain as six-grade units with the percentages being 51 per cent and 55 per cent black. There would be four junior high schools, as at present, with ranges being from 31-71 per cent black. Finally, the proposal called for two high schools of grades 10-12, one 49.5 per cent and the other to be 51 per cent black. Assignment would be by zone for junior and senior high schools. Busing would be required for some, though not all, students, thus making the plan more expensive. Most students would attend four different schools from first grade through high school graduation, though over 1,200 students (10 per cent of the school population) would attend only three.

The Biracial PTA Advisory Committee's—Twelve elementary schools would range from 3 per cent black at one school to 98 per cent black at another. Three junior high schools would range from 44-88 per cent black. The tenth grade and the 11-12 grade high schools both would be 50-50. Under this plan all children would attend four different schools in their twelve years.

The Advisory Committee submitted its plan to the school board on March 10 after adopting it the previous evening. Prior to the vote the committee spent one hour discussing the plaintiff's plan, which had been made public three days before, according to Bob Boyd in an article in the March 10 *Delta Democrat-Times.* Included with the particulars of the attendance zones were recommendations for "Quality Considerations" by "the school board for the successful outcome of the implementation of this plan or any plan." The "considerations" dealt with such things as staff, equipment, uniformity of services and policies, and discipline. Committee member Joe Wroten suggested to the group that it "remain active to promote community acceptance of the new plan implemented in the school system," Boyd wrote.

On Wednesday, March 18, the Greenville school board adopted the plan submitted by the biracial committee. The action came as no surprise to anyone inasmuch as it had originated in substantially the same form with the board and administration.

Its critics as well as its supporters say that the school administration, including the board, is in the words of one observer, "obsessed now with keeping whites in the public schools and isn't thinking beyond that. The school board is excellent and intelligent, but it has little time" to deal with the situation on a day-to-day basis. "The administration, as is the case across the state, is dominated by ex-football coaches who think more in bureaucratic than in creative terms; however, this probably has been a good thing for Greenville at this time because they have gone on with the job and with obeying the law." One critic who has little liking for the superintendent says he "ought to be the administrator in a military academy."

On the other hand, a letter to the ***DD-T*** **editor,** published in early March, expressed the sentiment of many Greenvillians about the chief administrator.

> A special measure of praise is due our stalwart Superintendent of schools, Dr. W. B. Thompson. "Bert" Thompson knows the value of a public education because he got his the hard way and the only way he could have. He went to school during the depression years and was taught to believe in and live by old-fashioned principles of respect for parental and school authority, law and order, honesty and good sportsmanship and hard work and loyalty to whatever job responsibility you accepted. . . . Under many trying conditions he has always managed to keep his cool.
>
> Now is the time to show our support for such dedicated public service and leadership . . . through a most critical period of history. . . . What they [the board and administration] need least is carping criticism and wholesale abandonment of the public school system by those whites who can afford private schools but do not have enough vision to realize that Greenville cannot support two systems and survive.

Dr. W. B. "Bert" Thompson has been superintendent of the Greenville system since 1965. Before coming to Greenville he was associated with the Columbus and Amory (Mississippi) school systems as a coach and principal. (These systems are considered by many to be among the best in the state.) He says, "The community depends on the success of the public school system to attract new people and industries and to hold the ones already here. And we're gonna fight like hell for the public schools, not because we're against the private schools, but because people are not wealthy enough to support private schools for all whites."

He acknowledges that the neighborhood pattern of school zones and the 50-50 teacher ratio are "attractive and conducive to people moving into Greenville from areas where whites are heavily outnumbered." Asked to name some of the active supporters of the public schools, Thompson said he'd better not. "It would be best to check with the chairman of the school board."

White public school supporters are not hard to find in Greenville. Groups ranging from the board of a private school in the process of formation to a local leader of a group called Americans for the Preservation of the White Race have expressed confidence in the school board. Nor are black supporters lacking either, although militant blacks and whites who advocate racial balance feel that the board and the advisory committee made too many concessions to whites at the expense of the law and the children. Most people agreed, however, that the federal District Court would accept the advisory committee-board plan, especially in view of its provisions for racially balanced high schools.

Peyton said that there are "some blacks, like principals and coaches maybe, who are leery about total integration, but they are not out-and-out opposed to it. The majority of black people see that whites get the attention and the money." In fact, many blacks were ready for complete desegregation at mid-year and could see no value in waiting any longer. But most accepted, however reluctantly, the counsel of those who urged patience for the fall merger. Peyton says the whites who leave the public schools "will be back eventually. This emotional decision that white parents are making will be overturned by the kids who will make them let them come back."

During the period in which the biracial committee was meeting, from mid-December through early March, a procession of groups passed resolutions supporting the public school system, and various white individuals indicated that they planned to "stick" with public education. The Greenville Ministerial Association placed a quarter-page ad in the *DD-T* expressing support for the public school system, "a unified public school system," and the school board. The Community Relations Committee voted to support a "strong and viable public education system." The annual Assembly of the biracial Delta Church Women United went on record as "supportive of a continued, strong public school system" in the community, urging school officials "to continuously seek to reflect the needs and wishes of the entire community for quality education for all our children."

In addition, a series of ads, most of them at least a half-page, appeared in the *DD-T* signed by the school board and Supt. Thompson. "Ten Reasons Why Your School Board Asks For Your Support of Your Public School System," "Your Investment in the Greenville Public School System. . . Today and Tomorrow!," "Can Your Child Expect To Get A Quality Education Under A Unified Public School System In Greenville?" were the headlines on three of the ads, which told residents and parents how much of an investment had been made in the schools, how many and how well qualified the teachers are, pledging quality education in a disciplined atmosphere, and how essential to the economic atmosphere of Greenville is the public school system. At the bottom of each ad the following item appeared: "This message paid for by a group of concerned citizens interested in preserving the Greenville Public School System."

This group of parents, businessmen, and professionals also printed bumper stickers urging support for public schools. An advertising agency in Jackson was retained to help with the campaign, which included a local bank sending "support the public schools" information to its depositors. One businessman who wrote the *DD-T* pointed out that a sizable investment had been made in public education in Greenville and that "education is not a business one should enter into lightly; yet I'm afraid entirely too many of our well-meaning but misguided citizens are going to try and get into the private school business in order to avoid sending their children to an integrated public school system. In many cases the result will be a high-priced product of less than average educational quality that is unable to compete with the products of the nation's public schools."

Hodding Carter III, in a signed editorial entitled "Staying With the Schools," expressed his and his family's intention of sticking with public schools in spite of problems which would be inevitable because of "the hate, the fears and the frustrations which have built up in both races for well over a century." The Greenville Laymen's Association went on record against allocation "directly or indirectly" of funds by the Mississippi legislature "for the purpose of maintaining a racially segregated educational system." The group endorsed a "unitary public school system."

The school board and administration tried to scotch some of the rumors about the future of the schools by setting up the Greenville Public Schools Information Center. A Center news release contained "Questions and Answers Pertinent to the Status of the Greenville Public Schools," with answers to 33 questions of the type that parents had been asking since the district was ordered to devise a merger plan. For example, "If a child is kept out of school or enrolled in a school not accredited by the state, will he be placed in the grade level with his former classmates next year?" Answer—"The Mississippi Accrediting Commission regulation must be followed in this case. If a student drops out and attends a private school and the private school is not accredited, before he can be placed in the same grade he must be tested to see if he is qualified for that grade placement." The release gave a telephone number at the school office that could be called if a person had further questions.

As more and more groups and individuals came out in support of public education, and as progress in organizing another private school in the city continued, feelings began to run high in several quarters. Regarding the private school people, an editorial in the Jan. 23 *DD-T* stated, "It may not be fair to suggest they are playing a deliberate wreckers' role by not participating in the hard task of preserving the public schools, but it is not hard to reach that conclusion."

The Washington County Day School Association board of directors points out that it began planning for a new private school long before the Greenville public school system was ordered to submit a plan abolishing the dual school system. In late winter the board acted to express its support for a strong public school system and its confidence in the school board and administration. The board of the Day School, with notable exceptions, reads like an abridged social registry of Greenville. Mrs. Douglas C. Wynn is the daughter of President Johnson's popular Ambassador to Australia; one of her children is the godchild of LBJ. Mrs. Clarke Reed is the wife of the Republican state chairman of Mississippi. (This position gives Reed all the federal patronage power since there are no Republican officeholders at the state level.) Howard Brent is one of the heirs to the Brent Towing Company of Greenville, a major barge mover in the country.

The proposed 12-grade school expects to open in a new building this September. With tuition of $500 for grades 1-8 and $600 for grades 9-12, the group hopes to be able to offer quality education with small enough classes for plenty of individualized instruction. Mrs.

Douglas Wynn said that it "has never been our idea to provide education for everybody who wanted a private, segregated education. It has always been my presumption that we would admit Negro students who could afford the school's tuition." The school will not have scholarships for anybody. They expect to have a maximum of 300-350 students with a pupil-teacher ratio of no more than 25-1.

"We had planned to begin with six or eight grades and then expand to a full 12-grade program in the future," Mrs. Wynn said. "I'm sure there would not have been 12 grades next year had there not been a court order." Mrs. Wynn regards herself as "one of Greenville's biggest supporters of the public schools," having served on the board of two school PTA's. "I have great respect for many teachers and the administrators of the Greenville school system. We can do a good job for a limited number of students, but we can't do some of the things that a public school system can and must do, and we don't intend to."

A young white professional who has two children of elementary-school age and who plans to keep them in public school said that the "statements of the Day School people in support of public education is just a smokescreen. Nobody is fooled by their statements. They want segregated education." Other critics say that while Mr. and Mrs. Douglas Wynn would admit black students to the Day School, the majority of the board would not. In fact, they say, if the board were to vote to adopt an open admissions policy, the school would lose some of its top financial backers.

It is also reported that the children of one board member do not wish to leave the public schools. Their lack of enthusiasm has caused some Day School board members to express a desire to "remove the woman from the board." Detractors charge that the support from the community has not been as great as was anticipated and that some early backers have dropped by the wayside. Mrs. Wynn says that "people who started the school, who have been vitally interested, have continued their support, while peripheral groups have moved in and out. The group which got together two years ago has stayed."

Even though they are not competing for the same students, the two private school groups in the city, each in its own way, point out what they consider to be their distinctive features. The Greenville Christian School is already in operation, having begun its program in September, 1969. Associated with the Christ Wesleyan Methodist Church, the church's pastor Doug Herring also administers the school. Well-liked and respected by church members and parents, who call him "Doug" at his request, Herring says, "There is a tendency to associate our school with the private school movement, but it isn't. Our board has asked for a 'no comment' policy because we don't want the children to be hurt by the controversy that has sprung up in the community over the schools."

He said that they had attempted to get the *Delta Democrat-Times* to run some releases of interest to the students at the school, but since Hodding Carter III is "not for this type of school" the paper had not run the releases. (Carter said that he was not aware of any blackout policy on the school and would check into the matter with the news staff. The religion editor of the paper who tried to interview Herring was refused because of the board's policy against interviews with the press.) Herring said they wanted to avoid the "publicity" on educational policy and philosophy "that brings letters back and forth" because this would not benefit the children.

Herring is the only Mississippi private school administrator who is a member of the National Association of Christian Schools. He will be going to Bob Jones University in Greenville, S. C., and the Tennessee Temple College in Chattanooga "and other nonaffiliated Christian colleges" to recruit teachers for next fall because they want their teachers "to have had Bible" as well as grounding in the subjects in which they will instruct.

The school, which has 170 students this term, is often referred to as the "hotel school" by Greenvillians because it, like the church, is housed at the Greenville Hotel. The church and school will be moved to a new building, which they hope will be ready for the fall term. With the desegregation of the three county consolidated districts at mid-year, the Christian school, which opened as a primary school, expanded through grade 10 in February. One parent said, "They had the space and the staff so they enlarged the school; some parents wanted them to increase it to all 12 grades but Doug's wife told them they had done all they could do for this year." The school expects to encompass all 12 grades in the fall.

Critics say that the salaries paid at the school are far inferior to the public schools, that the teachers are often unqualified, and that many children don't like it there. One teacher who was hired to teach elementary school, and who has not completed college, is now teaching high-school English. But parents say they are pleased with the quality of the instruction and are appreciative of the religious training their children are getting. One mother said her child needed help with her math and she has gotten it at the Christian School and "brought her grade up. With smaller classes they get extra help. Some people applied and were not able to get in because the classes were full. They have a limit to the number of students per teacher of not more than 15. They consider 10 per teacher the best."

Herring says that money is not a consideration for the school. They have had one wealthy man, who would make a substantial contribution, who wants his child entered for next fall. Herring doesn't know if he will be admitted or not. Another man and his wife, both of whom are illiterate, brought their child to the school; they said, "It won't be easy to educate this child," and according to Herring it hasn't been. The man is moonlighting to be able to pay the tuition, which runs about $40 per month per child. Herring says, "We don't have a single tuition payment in default or arrears. Some schools can't say that." The school will have far more applicants than it will have space for the fall term, but Herring has said they would have a school if they had only one student.

Those who organized the Christ Wesleyan Methodist Church broke away from the First United Methodist several years ago and asked Herring to return to Greenville from the French Camp School, a Presbyterian institution, where he was a staff member. He says they had always intended to have a school as part of the church. Neither Herring nor the church is associated with the United Methodist denomination. The statement on the school, which its board adopted, begins, "Greenville Christian School was founded on the conviction that all of life belongs to God. God is the center of everything. . . . His creatures honor Him as Lord and Saviour in everything we do. Of course that includes our studying, as well as our everyday work. . . Greenville Christian School was also founded on the conviction that the present trend of public school education is drifting away from Christian principles and ideals that were known and taught in former years."

White parents all over the city are agonizing over what to do next fall, and older children are doing the same. They have gotten application forms and brochures from the various schools in the area. Many have not yet returned them.

One mother, who has two children in public school this year, said, "It's the uncertainty of the situation; I just don't know what to do. My daughter doesn't want to go to Weston for the 10th grade next fall. With my fifth grader it's according to what school she is assigned to and what she wants to do. The amount of Negro children in her room will not matter. I just can't see the children suffering for the mistakes of the parents. I hate to see the public schools go because they are so important. Many parents feel a sense of responsibility for this situation. They know it's our mistake. If we had started years ago trying to do something then we wouldn't be in this situation. I just don't want my child to go through the rough part of it. Negro children should have an equal opportunity."

She is not "sure that a better school is the answer" to the problems of equal opportunity for blacks. "Children need a good home with the mother there, a good breakfast, and teachers who care. They're going to have to have a better home some way or other to make it work out." She and her husband already have the money put aside for the two girls to go to private school next year. "My husband gave up his vacation and worked so that we could afford it; he feels he can continue to do this as long as necessary."

Mr. Jake Stein says that "the white and blue collar workers who can't afford the private school will demand a strong public school system in Greenville. This is his only alternative if he wants his child to get an adequate education. The private school system will shrink over the years. There will always be enough whites in Greenville to back up the administration of the schools."

Two men who work on the river for the Brent Towing Company already send their children to the "Greenville Hotel School." A grandfather who works in a service station, whose grandchild lives with him and attends public school this year, said he hopes "the child's parents will send money for her to go to private school next year." Some upper-middle-class people who live in suburban developments in the Greenville area, and whose children go to Greenville schools this year, are upset that their children will be forced to go to the Western Line Schools if they stay in public school next fall. Some of them have bought houses in town, some plan to send them to the Day School, and some haven't decided yet what they will do. One liberal white man who is still undecided about next year said that "pairing is the only thing that will keep whites and blacks in school together at the elementary level. Anything else will result in more residential segregation and resegregation of the schools."

Despite the plaintiffs' plea for pairing at the elementary level, on April 6, U. S. District Judge Orma Smith approved the plan submitted to his court by the school board for elementary geographic zoning. The judge concluded that the board's plan "has reasonable promise of dissolving dual schools." He gave the system a year to make it work, at the end of which time he will review the results. However, the decision by the plaintiffs to appeal the decision to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals may take it out of his hands temporarily. They felt the judge did not give adequate attention to their plan, which they believe would bring about more racial balance. Judge Smith did order more faculty desegregation than the proposal by the board.

In the meantime, the administration is going about the business of preparing for next fall. It has asked for teachers to volunteer for transfer. If enough are not obtained in this way, the board has asked teachers and administrators to suggest criteria for transfer assignments that will be considered in making the necessary staff moves to comply with the order of the court that the 55-45 white-black ratio apply generally to each attendance center in the system.

One of Hodding Carter II's favorite quotations is some advice he got from Will Percy concerning a citizen's responsibility:

> You can't do anything on the grand scale. But you can work for your own people, in your own town. It isn't national leaders we need so much as men of good will in each of the little towns of America. Try to keep Greenville a decent place by being a correct citizen yourself. The total of all the Greenvilles can make the kind of country we want or don't want.

The two groups of private-school advocates, the plaintiffs who have appealed the school decision, and the white supporters of the public schools—each group believes that it is working "to keep Greenville a decent place."

Western Line, Washington County

The *Delta Democrat-Times* of Wednesday, Jan. 21, ran a front-page picture of a tall, attractive, blond woman carrying a sign that read: "I would rather *Fight* than switch!" Her right eye was blackened with makeup in the fashion of the TV cigarette commercial. She was part of a group of 30 to 40 white parents picketing outside the Greenville courtroom of U. S. District Judge Orma Smith on Jan. 20. (Inside the courtroom Judge Smith reprimanded the lawyer when he apologized for the pickets and the Judge reminded the attorney that the group was completely within its rights under the First Amendment.)

The occasion for the demonstration was the final hearing, by Judge Smith, on the desegregation plan submitted by HEW for eliminating the dual school system in the Western Line Consolidated School District of Washington County. Supporting the retention of freedom of choice for the district, many in the group were to continue to play an important part in the support of the public schools after Judge Smith ruled that they must merge immediately in compliance with the October decision of the U. S. Supreme Court.

Questioned later, the woman with the sign, Mrs. Farris Proctor of Chatham, said, "The sign had a double meaning. I meant that I'd rather fight than switch from freedom of choice to complete integration and from public schools to private schools."

* * *

Last September, 2,613 children enrolled in the district's three schools: 1,904 (72.8 per cent) blacks and 709 (27.2 per cent) whites. Thirty-eight black students elected to attend Riverside, the only white school, under the freedom of choice plan then in operation. The remainder of the black students attended two 12-grade schools—O'Bannon, near Greenville in the northern half of the district, and Glen Allan, just above the Issaquena County line in the southern part. Under an arrangement dating to the 1890's, 268 white children who live in the Western Line district near Greenville are allowed to attend the Greenville schools, and 116 blacks who live in the Greenville district are permitted to attend O'Bannon.

When the group of parents left the courthouse on Jan. 20, they thought that only the white seniors from Western Line would be allowed to remain at Greenville High School and that the Greenville district black students would have to go to the schools in the city. When they learned later that the judge had agreed in chambers to allow all of these students to remain at Greenville High for the current year, many of the parents were angry because this "messed up the ratio." Already put out with their lawyer for advising against submitting a plan in competition with that of HEW and for apologizing to the court for their demonstration, the parents were even angrier over what they considered to be a "deal" by a lawyer (who practices and lives in Greenville) who did "not adequately defend his client's interests."

When school opened, after a two-week, court-approved delay, on Monday, Feb. 2, all but about 100 blacks and slightly more than 200 whites showed up for school. After a few days of the new term, during which there were six bomb threats (four during school hours), at Riverside, a near boycott by some black students over dress and hair regulations, and other more minor adjustment problems, the number of whites decreased by about 75.

One of the casualties of the tumult was District Supt. Charles Morris who was hospitalized first with high blood pressure and later with a heart attack. Mrs. Morris, who works in her husband's office, reported that the bomb threats had come from both whites and blacks, some young and some old. She said they had lost only three teachers: one white to a private school in the area, one black on maternity leave, and another black agriculture teacher who took a job as assistant county agricultural agent. All students from grades 7-12 are now at Riverside; all elementary students attend either O'Bannon or Glen Allan, depending on which of the two zones, defined in the HEW plan, they live in.

Mrs. Morris says there are several problems now that they didn't have before the merger. "Private schools have been hounding the teachers" to join their faculties. "The teachers say the quality of the school work has gone down, and parents complain about the black teachers." She added, "We have discovered things about education that we didn't know before." As an example of this she said, "Blacks have tried to hide poor students. We find they had boys 20 years old in the eighth grade." (Through "social promotion" a person is not kept in a grade for more than two years.) And, "Time means nothing to Negroes. The buses are always late now," she said.

Asked if the school board had another plan for desegregation that had been rejected by the courts, she replied that they had visited Russellville, Ark., and had looked at plans of several other systems in order to come up with one they thought would be educationally sound. "We planned to make Riverside the college preparatory school. All students would have been tested and the top 20 per cent would have been assigned to Riverside. The other 80 per cent would have gone to O'Bannon or Glen Allan for vocational training. We also hoped to have an ungraded elementary system." She added that they had been having a lot of success with the "open court" method of teaching reading. "It is really wonderful. They used it in Greenwood and the students jumped three grades in one year. This is the second year we've used it here."

The Morrises have one child in elementary school at O'Bannon and another who finished early and is now in junior college in Moorhead, Miss. She says that she and her husband are "not going to endanger their child. If he falls behind we will put him in private school."

Mrs. Morris and several other whites were asked why whites remained in school in Western Line when they did not in Hollandale. They gave the following reasons: (1) "The ratio of blacks to whites is not as great in Western line as it is in Hollandale." (2) "This side of the county is more open-minded than the Hollandale side." (3) "Whites wanted to keep things together in Western Line, and they had meetings instead of pulling their hair out over the situation."

One white "crossover" teacher who is sometimes at odds with Supt. Morris gives the superintendent the primary credit for keeping whites in the school. "Morris realizes we must have a public school system and that private schools are no good for most people," the teacher said. He felt that Morris helped to get whites to "stick" by keeping his own child in public school.

Mrs. Millicent Jackson is now the assistant principal at Riverside. Before the merger she held the same position at formerly, all-black O'Bannon. A Mississippi native, she graduated from Alcorn A & M and then did graduate work at the University of Iowa and Ohio State. Her daughter is an undergraduate at Ole Miss. She says that in spite of the problems posed by integration it is still worth it. But, Mrs. Jackson is troubled that some white teachers still refuse to acknowledge her presence. "There is one young lady who wouldn't even look at me; now she smiles but she has never spoken." However, "things have improved since the first day when there was absolutely no warmth. It was just horrible."

Another problem is that "too many administrators and teachers are out of place in the schools. So many can be bought for selfish ends." She acknowledges that part of the reason for this is that many blacks have been barred from other jobs and have gone into education as the only way of advancing in status and income. The major educational problem facing the Western Line and other school districts is the lack of "human understanding by the teachers, who make no effort to understand the child and to create a learning situation. Many children who need counselling are spanked instead. Teachers send children off to the principal for disciplining at the slightest incident. I believe that all children can learn. Sometimes we don't know exactly what we need, but human understanding is still the most important thing."

Teachers, black and white, who transferred to Riverside from O'Bannon at mid-year acknowledge that they have been shunned by the white teachers at Riverside. One teacher said that whites oftentimes "take the *conditions* of many blacks as the *standards* of all blacks." (After the merger they started disinfecting the school bathrooms three times a day.) Another problem is how whites view black culture. There was almost a boycott of Riverside because of the prohibition against everything from bell bottom pants to long and facial hair.

Joe Hemingway, a white teacher who started out at O'Bannon and then shifted to Riverside after merger, entered a suit with several students to prohibit the enforcement of the dress and hair regulations by the administration. He says he helped to stop the boycott of black students by convincing them they could win the issue in court. A federal district judge told the administration that it could come back into court in 60 days and if it could show a relationship between length of hair and facial hair and learning difficulties that he might uphold the regulations, but in the interim the administration could not enforce the standards.

Hemingway, who wears a goatee and mustache and who dresses in "mod" styles, teaches English and creative writing. His creative writing class, which came with him from O'Bannon, is all black. When the year began he says he "was amazed that the students had never heard of Richard Wright, William Faulkner or Langston Hughes. One had heard of James Baldwin and LeRoi Jones. Only 5 per cent had a newspaper in their home. None of them knew what the initials NAACP stand for. The student who had heard of Baldwin and Jones had a fight with his father and went off to Chicago to join the Black Panthers. He came back though and now wears a beret and dashiki."

Many whites are certain that Hemingway is a "trained Communist agitator." Hemingway hopes he will be rehired to teach next year, but has serious doubts about his chances. Whites say he would already have been fired were it not that the court is keeping a close tab on all personnel changes. Hemingway says that simple statements that he makes, often in jest, are distorted and then magnified in retelling. For example, he says that after several interruptions of one class by the classroom loudspeaker for an announcement, he finally turned to the box and commented, "The oracle speaks." This remark eventually became, to some parents, "Why doesn't that damn S.O.B. shut up!" On the other hand, some black students say they wouldn't have anything to do with whites at all if it were not for their admiration and liking for Hemingway.

Jake Ayres, a black man who lives with his family in the Glen Allan Community, works for the Delta Ministry of the National Council of Churches. He has eight children and is vitally concerned with education in the Western Line district. His children were in the first group to desegregate the district schools in 1966 under freedom of choice. Although the Delta Ministry, according to one white in Greenville, is disliked or mistrusted by 99 per cent of the whites, Jake Ayres is even more unpopular with whites in the Western Line district. Ayres is active in the leadership of a group in the county called the Quality Education Committee. Before the recent school board elections in Western Line, Hollandale, and Leland, the committee, which was running a black candidate in each of the elections, sponsored a prime-time television show, moderated by Ayres, on which the three black candidates gave their views about education.

On Jan. 8, Judge Orma Smith ordered the merger of the faculties in the Western Line district. Ayres says Judge Smith asked "the plaintiffs to get together with the school board and work out something so we won't be asked to merge the students before September. The judge urged and practically begged us to cooperate. The plaintiffs got together after lunch and agreed to talk with the school board attorney to work out a plan for September. Our lawyer agreed to contact their lawyer to try to set up a meeting."

When contacted, James Robertshaw, the school board attorney, said he couldn't meet that day, but the plaintiffs assumed he would contact them about a conference at another time, Ayres said. "We waited around for a week to hear from him before we had a meeting in the black community to decide what we wanted to do. He never contacted us or our attorney," Ayres said. The meeting of about 200 blacks and a few white teachers was held on Jan. 15. (The final court hearing on the student merger was scheduled for Jan. 20.) The overwhelming majority voted to ask for immediate desegregation in February.

"People felt that they had waited long enough. Also the black teachers supported the February student merger. I felt that this group, which had never done anything in the community wanted it so that the black students would give them some protection since they were already under a merger order. My wife and I voted against the February student merger for two reasons. First of all we felt that it would be best for the kids if the teachers were merged first. Secondly, we were willing to wait a few more months in exchange for concessions from the whites on such things as blacks on the school board." (The school board election had not been held at that time.)

The five-member school board of the district is all white. None of the school board members has a child in the Western Line schools. Not only the blacks but many whites are disturbed over this second point. In the election that was held the first Saturday in March, H. T. Cochran, the school board chairman, was pitted against a black woman put up by the Quality Education Committee.

Whites who believe there should be a black or blacks on the school board say they did not vote for the woman because they did not consider her qualified for the job. They cite as a reason that she is married to a man who runs "juke joints." Blacks respond that whites always claim that blacks who are selected by the black community are unqualified. The school board election was held at the Riverside school in March. When the time arrived for the meeting to begin blacks heavily outnumbered whites. According to one observer, whites quickly commandeered the school phones and started calling other whites "who turned out in droves." Cochran was re-elected easily to the post. (There is a report that a group of whites are working to get one of the school board members to resign so that a black person can be appointed to his seat.)

Two nights following the black community's meeting, white parents in large numbers met at Riverside school gym to discuss the court situation. The meeting, which was opened by a PTA officer, was turned over to the school board attorney for questions. Two parents, described what happened: "The lawyer said that he didn't know of anything we could do but accept the HEW plan. He urged us to support the public schools because the 'Delta will be a wasteland' if we don't. Two school board members who were on the platform just sat there and didn't say a word. People got up and said, 'I'm sticking.' Others said 'I'm not.' Someone asked for a show of hands from those who planned to keep their children in, but others said, 'No, we don't know what the court will rule on Tuesday, so there's no sense in taking a vote now.' " Apparently, expressed willingness of a number of parents and teachers to give it a try helped to keep others in who were wavering.

Since school started, a group of white parents organized an "Information Please Club" to "try to get the right information to people, to try to get to the bottom of rumors." The group has discussed the possibility of efforts to keep whites in the district's schools for next year. They are also interested in having rules and qualifications for school board members adopted. Many think that members should have children in school. One person active with the group said, "Just because a farmer owns a lot of land doesn't make him qualified to be on the board." At the end of March, the group had not yet taken action to encourage whites to stick with the public schools next fall. They want to know first "what we can be guaranteed next year" as far as school conditions are concerned. Classrooms, in some cases, are considered to be overloaded at Riverside. There has been discussion of moving some or all of the junior high grades to O'Bannon, which has vacant rooms this year. At this time some individual members of "Information Please" are trying to get facts on conditions and teachers, talking to teachers, and trying to work out some of the racial problems.

Talks with white parents indicate they are mainly concerned about the black teachers. Mr. and Mrs. Farris Proctor of Chatham have three children. One is living with Mrs. Proctor's mother in Tennessee; the other two are in elementary school at Glen Allan. Proctor works with his father on the latter's large farm. His wife, Sarah, is a beautician. Her shop is in a small trailer located next to their modest house, built a number of years ago by a previous owner for his tenant. The Proctors, originally from Tennessee, moved to Mississippi from the Missouri Boot Heel. A group of farmers from southeast Missouri has moved into the Chatham area of Western Line over the years because farmland is cheaper there than in Missouri.

The Proctors have been among the most active of one group of parents encouraging whites to stick with the public schools. They are becoming frustrated with the situation, however, and talk freely about the problems they see. Farris Proctor said, "I've found out why niggers haven't got any education; they haven't had any teachers." And Mrs. Proctor added, "Have you ever heard of homework in physical education? Our son had to write two and one half pages on croquet and two and one half pages on softball; then his paper was rejected because it wasn't stapled. We didn't have any staples here at the house."

Their son is in the fourth grade at Glen Allan. Since grades four through six have been departmentalized, he has eight teachers, four blacks and four whites. "We think it wouldn't be bad if we had better teachers. But parents can't do anything about the teachers who are incompetent because we must go through the federal judge," Mrs. Proctor continued.

Mrs. T. H. Nelson, who lives up the road from them, is a school teacher who stuck with the public schools. Mrs. Nelson said "that the time for the teachers not to speak [about the situation] is over. One teacher who is trying to reach retirement said that it is so bad this semester that she'll work in a dime store rather than teach next year. She just can't stand it." One black teacher at Riverside is reported to have told his white students, "Now you're going to know what it's like to be the minority group."

Mrs. Proctor said, "I've been one of the most liberal ones around here, and I think they should have fair and equal opportunity. I don't agree with that business about blacks staying 'in their place.'" She thinks that there will be less financial support from the state and county for the schools if the whites leave. "But we've got to have public schools if Mississippi is going to survive. That's one reason we have tried to stick it out, but our children have got to come first. I can't see forcing my children to pay a debt to society for something I had nothing to do with."

Mr. Proctor picked up the conversation:

"A lot of colored children and teachers didn't want our children in school with them by the way they treat our children in school. I think they want us to leave, but, if we do, it's going to be bad. Ninety-five per cent of the taxes in this district are paid by the whites. If we pull out the niggers are going to find out where the money comes from." Both agree that there should be blacks on the school board, but neither thinks that the black woman who ran was qualified for the job. Proctor says he realizes that blacks could elect the entire board, but since the whites pay 95 per cent of the taxes they have to be represented on the board.

Proctor says "this must be a peace-loving community because we haven't had any trouble here between the races like I expected. But we don't have much [race] relations here now. Whites hate niggers and niggers hate whites."

They don't think there will be as many whites next year as there are this year, and they look for a number of teachers to leave. Some teachers don't really have to work anyway, others will teach in the private school, and still others will find jobs elsewhere.

As for the Proctors, they "don't know if they will make it the rest of this year, especially with Tony." Proctor added, "I'm not going to say 'uncle' until I see I have to." Do they think they might leave their children in public school next year in spite of the problems? "We might, but we've already signed them up for the Christian school in Greenville. We've figured it out. We could move someplace else, but Farris only has a high-school education and he couldn't make any more in a factory than he makes farming. Plus we'd have to rent or buy a house and pay on a note for 30 years, and we've only got 10 more years of private school to pay for. We don't pay any rent on this house since it comes with the job. Besides, I already have my clientele built up here for the beauty shop; if we moved I'd have to start all over. The Christian school will cost us a little more than $100 a month with three children in school. A house note would cost that much."

Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Howard "Boots" Nelson live about two miles from the Proctors in the Chatham community. They are both natives of the school district. Mrs. Nelson said, "I went to school here for 12 years and I have taught here for 12 years." They have four children—three girls and one boy—and all are at Glen Allan. Nelson, a prosperous farmer, thinks things are "falling apart at the seams. The biggest problem is the black teachers."

Mrs. Nelson continued, "Mainly, we're talking about our son who is in the departmentalized sixth grade. He has six black and two white teachers in his major subjects. He has gone backward this semester instead of forward. We didn't expect him to gain, but we were surprised that he has gone backward. His grades have been excellent, but in his learning we can tell a difference."

"Some teachers aren't even capable of holding a class," Nelson said. "They shouldn't have been in there. I guess that's what the niggers have been fussing about all these years; we're finding out they sure do have some sorry ones."

"We're not against Negroes having equal education rights, but many of the teachers aren't putting forth any effort; they don't try; why, some don't even stay in their classrooms," Mrs. Nelson commented. "We've got to have a situation where parents and teachers can meet and really know what's going on. How can we get word to them about our concern? I'm at a loss. We haven't been parents who quizzed our children, but now we must know what happened because our children aren't learning. The school officials know they have some bad teachers, but under HEW regulations they can't fire any. We've got more teachers than we need after the combination. We've got spelling teachers who can't spell," she added.

Mrs. Nelson explained that "we have tried to stick with the public school. I have 17 white and four black children in my room. Only two of the 17 whites can really afford to go to private school. I'm going to stick to public schools and try to help these children. I've taught black children for five years and I've got some good black students. It's not so much being mixed with black children; we could put up with it if there were decent teachers." But Nelson added, "My three girls are not going to go to junior high and high school where it's 90 per cent black."

She has heard of some white kids who are not going at all in the O'Bannon area. One sixth grader who lives in Grace, just south of Glen Allan, came to school one day, saw how many black teachers he had and left. His mother gave him freedom of choice—he could either go to public school or not go at all. Mrs. Nelson said, "He's just about as well off." She paused for a bit and then commented, "That's terrible for educated people to say, but if you knew what my son is going through. . . . Of course, he does have two or three good black teachers. We want our children to go to college and every year counts; if they don't get the background, they're not going to make it in college. We weren't going to run. We wanted to try, but now we've enrolled all four of them in the Christian school in Greenville. It's going to be hard on us financially to pay for 12 years, but we can do it."

What about race relations generally? "There is more hatred for the Negro than there has ever been before, and that's bad. People who never had any hatred can hardly stand to look at them and that's bad. No matter how it [the zoning] is arranged, the ratio of blacks to whites is so drastic. Freedom of choice is the only way. When we had freedom of choice we were always fair; the students have never been mistreated in any way. No, I'm not aware of any problem with freedom of choice."

Will whites continue to support the public schools financially if all the whites leave? "They have no choice. We have to pay taxes on our land. But I imagine the taxes will be cut if there's nothing but blacks in the schools. I can't imagine *no* support, but if most whites leave, then public sentiment will make them reduce the taxes. But we have *got* to have public education for whites and blacks," Mrs. Nelson said. "I don't know who's satisfied with this plan now. I don't know if the blacks are satisfied. All you know is what you read in the *Democrat* and I don't believe it. You can't tell by Jake Ayres. His job is to keep things stirred up. He works for the Delta Ministry."

Jake Ayres says things were not quite what Mrs. Nelson thinks they were under freedom of choice. "The black kids were isolated on the campus. The white kids were not allowed to play with them. They put blacks on one side of the campus and whites on the other. If blacks went over to play with whites then the whites moved. If the whites went over to play with the blacks, then the teachers made the whites go back to their side. We organized a car pool to take kids to school. We were informed that wasn't necessary because the bus would pick them up. But the bus didn't come until nine o'clock in the morning and in the afternoon our kids were taken out of class early and driven over to the black school. They took my kid right by my house on the way to the black school and picked up the other black kids and drove him all around with the others and then dropped him at home. I complained to the principal who said he'd do better, but he didn't. Finally, one of the white teachers started bringing him home because she was afraid for his safety. In the adjoining county a girl in freedom of choice had her eye shot out by night riders. Each one of the black parents who enrolled his children under freedom of choice had a cross burned in his yard. In 1966-67 they had a rule that if one person got in a fight three times he would be expelled. So three white kids—each at different times—picked a fight with one black kid and the black kid was expelled.

"We started off with 13 kids in 1965 and eight finished. One man with two kids was put out of his house on a plantation. But even now things are bad. I was at school this morning and my daughter told me that the white bus driver saves seats for whites. He makes blacks stand in the back of the bus and lets whites stand in the front. The school people have failed to give any positive direction to their personnel. The school board never attempted to prepare the community for school desegregation in spite of the fact that the HEW guidelines instructed the board to prepare the people. That's one reason I thought it would be better if we first had the teacher desegregation, so the kids wouldn't have to suffer through all this mess."

Hollandale, Washington County

The attractive and personable 17-year-old girl laughed and asked, "Want an invitation to my graduation?" The engraved invitation read: "The Senior Class, Hollandale High School, announces its Commencement Exercises, Tuesday evening, May twenty-sixth, Nineteen hundred seventy, eight o'clock, C. L. Crowley Auditorium."

But there will be no graduation exercises, for anybody, at Hollandale High this year. A few days before the Oct. 29 "at once" decision of the U. S. Supreme Court, the 19 would-be graduates of the predominantly white school ordered their invitations. Nineteen students—18 whites and one black. At about the same time a few blocks away, several score seniors at Simmons, the all-black school, ordered their invitations for graduation from that school.

The reason that there will be no graduation at Hollandale High is that only one student is left in the senior class who has invitations printed for the school. He is black and the only senior in the district who is at the same school he enrolled for in September.

What happened to the other 18? Ten are in a private school in Silver City in Humphreys County, 30 miles east of Hollandale; one student had enough credits at the end of his eleventh year and is believed to be in a junior college; and seven are picking up the necessary credits by correspondence from the University of Southern Mississippi for a state certified-diploma.

The black seniors who moved after the court-ordered merger from Simmons to Hollandale High at mid-year will return to Simmons for commencement on the date originally scheduled. The seven whites who will receive public school diplomas asked if they might go ahead with their graduation exercises at Hollandale High, but the school administration said "no"; however, they were told that they could have commencement in the town's community center.

Occasionally the six get together to study, but not very often, since they are taking different correspondence courses. One white senior said, "It's not too bad" not being in school "unless I think about the senior parties and the graduation that we'll be missing. At the last pep rally for the Friday night basketball game (before the changeover) everybody was crying." The Saturday night game was called off, and no more games were played. "It was so sad. Now everybody is getting bored sitting at home all the time."

There were 34 students in the junior class last year. Some moved away; five went to college this year by taking correspondence courses and going to summer school; some are in service; three started to the private school in Silver City at the beginning of this school year.

But this is not the end of the story of white participation in the district's public schools. In September there were about 155 whites in the system, all at the Hollandale Attendance Center (of which Hollandale High is a part). Four years ago there were almost 500 white students in the school; then freedom of choice went into effect. Each year the number of whites decreased.

At the beginning of the 1969-70 school year the first phase of a three-step court-approved plan went into effect. The first three grades were to be merged and the students were to attend Simmons, the formerly all-black school. When school opened in September no whites, teachers or students, assigned to Simmons, showed up. When school reopened at the beginning of the second semester under the total merger of all grades, the 155 whites did not return. Now, there are no whites at all in the Hollandale public school system.

The number of whites in school continued to decline from 1966 despite a simultaneous decline in the number of blacks in school with them. From a high of about 50 in 1966-67, when freedom of choice was first implemented, the 1969-70 school year found only 13 blacks in the Hollandale Attendance Center. On the other hand, "merger" does not seem to have affected black attendance in the least. Average daily attendance continues to be about 95 per cent of enrollment for the 2,000 plus black students in the three schools operated by the district.

Under the terms of the court order for merger, nine of 13 white teachers could remain in the system. Three of them quit and six remain employed: three at Simmons, two at Hollandale, and one at the elementary school in Arcola, eight miles north of Hollandale.

Most of the whites, teachers as well as students, are now at the Deer Creek Day School in Arcola. Originally, the site of the Deer Creek school was owned by the school district. When the old public school was closed and its students moved to the Hollandale Attendance Center, the Arcola Development Company purchased the building, which included a gym, auditorium and a three-story classroom structure. The planters who bought it used it to store cotton seed.

In 1965 the Deer Creek Educational Institute was incorporated. Desegregation had begun in the state the previous school year, and administrators expected freedom of choice to begin in Hollandale with the 1965 fall term. While this did not happen, the Deer Creek Day School, having leased the building owned by the Arcola Development Company, opened with eight students in the first grade. Expanding each year thereafter, both in terms of students and grades, by the fall of 1969 the school had slightly more than 200 students in the first eight grades. With mid-year merger the enrollment jumped to 485 in 11 grades.

The three-story classroom building was never used by Deer Creek and has since been torn down. The school's incorporators bought the building, added new classrooms, and continued to use the gym and auditorium for their original purposes. However, the unexpected influx of students in February made it necessary to partition the auditorium to make room for almost 300 additional students. This is only a temporary measure, though, since more classrooms will be added in time for the beginning of school next fall.

DeLoach Cope, John and Bob Aldridge are planters and heavy backers of the Deer Creek School. Some people are puzzled by Cope's enthusiastic participation since his two children attend private school elsewhere in the state at two well-established private institutions; however, his support is explained to the satisfaction of others who are aware of his family's being "conservative about race."

Bob Aldridge, the eldest of the two Aldridge brothers who live in Estill, between Hollandale and Arcola, has been chairman of the board since the private school was organized. He has two daughters at Deer Creek. Asked if he thought whites would continue to support public education in the district he said, "They have no choice." But over and above this, he continued, "The only salvation for us in this county is an educated electorate, so we have got to support public schools. The private school is not meant to replace the public school but to provide a choice for those who don't wish to attend the public schools. We private school people have no ax to grind. So many are worrying about the lack of support. We have supported Negro schools all of these years, why would we stop now? It's no different from what we've been doing."

Aldridge, who fits the stereotype of the Delta patrician planter, went to Ole Miss as an undergraduate. After the war he attended the Harvard Business School for a year of graduate study though he did not complete his M.B.A. degree.

He thinks "freedom of choice will be reinstituted eventually, though it will affect the larger towns and cities only. In Hollandale where there is only an elementary and a high school, then it's not likely to be reinstated." Questioned about the possibility of middle- and lower-income whites moving out because of the school situation, Aldridge said that while they might move to Greenville, as some have speculated, he expects them to "move farther away than Greenville, perhaps to other parts of the state." Still, he expects enrollment at Deer Creek to continue at 450-500 for the foreseeable future.

Asked if whites feel any responsibility for the situation they now find themselves in, Aldridge said that "some do. Most have felt that this situation was inevitable because of the courts' actions. During the past 20 years there has been an earnest effort made to equalize [the schools], but the effort was to late by the time the courts ordered the total merger." But, he added, "the problem of inequality exists elsewhere in the country." How long before the situation straightens out? "Four or five to 10 years."

Another man with two children at Deer Creek is Eugene Singleton Clarke, a certified public accountant in Hollandale. Clarke, 36, was re-elected to the Hollandale district school board on Saturday, March 7, barely a month after the court-ordered merger went into effect. This will be his second five-year term on the board, and during the past year he served as chairman. His two sons attended Hollandale public schools until the beginning of this school year.

Asked why he decided to run for re-election in spite of the fact that he has no children in public school, Clarke said it was "primarily because the operation of the schools and expenditure of tax funds affects everybody. We need competent people to approve and run an education program. Had there been a qualified black to come out and run, I wouldn't have run." He said that his opponent, Mrs. Mary Granger, a local black woman, was a "pawn for a group connected with Jake Ayres and the Delta Ministry which administers agitation." (The group is named the Quality Education Committee. See the section on the Western Line, Miss., school district.)

Clarke said that he "got a lot of black votes" for re-election. Asked how he knew, he explained that the election was held at the high school and that a count of those who participated revealed that the group was half black and half white, but the secret ballot total was 455-208 in his favor. In response to a question about reports of more interest in this election, when there were no whites in school, than there had ever been before, he said that "Ten years ago there was little interest in the election; however, in the last four or five years there has been more interest. For the last two years there have been black candidates."

Clarke believes the Board of Supervisors (the county governing body that sets the millage for local school support) will continue to go along with the school board's recommendations. He does not foresee a "drastic reduction," in the appropriation, "but with a reduction in the number of students less will be required to run the schools." A bond issue for the schools "wouldn't pass" at this time, he said. But whites do realize the need to have public schools to educate black children. However, the "public schools wouldn't have the support they had until freedom of choice is back." Clarke thinks it will be back.

Whites thought relief would come with the election of Mr. Nixon, but then the Supreme Court ruled in the Mississippi case and hope diminished. Hope revived with the Stennis and Whitten amendments and the ruling in the Charlotte, N. C. case, but then the ruling on the Memphis case was handed down. "It's hard to put your finger on anything," he concluded.

J. R. Gouldman, a native of the hill country south of Jackson, is the superintendent of the Hollandale district. Asked why whites had stayed in school in the Western Line district and why they had not in his district, Gouldman said that their "ratio [of blacks to whites] is probably not as great as ours, but I'm not positive about that." He said there had been "no campaign to get whites to stay" in the public schools in Hollandale. He pointed out that all the whites had left Tunica and Sunflower County schools also.

So far as he knows, the "Citizens Council has not been active" in Hollandale as it has in some areas in the organization and support of the private schools. He believes the "private school is here to stay," but he doesn't know "how many [students] they'll be able to handle" in the future. Whites will continue to support the public schools financially "to a degree because they haven't got a choice, but we're going to see a reduction in the millage everywhere the whites leave." The Board of Supervisors appropriates local funds up to 29 mills now, but "they could reduce it to anything they want to." In the three schools operating now, "there aren't enough students to support the system," and there is a "possibility of having to let some teachers go." If all children could be put in two schools, then "we would need to [let the teachers go], but we must petition the court to close a school" at the present time.

Gouldman said that the reason for the intense interest by whites in the recent school board election was "primarily financial," but he "wouldn't say that there was more interest this year than in the past. We have had hotly contested elections when only whites were running." He pointed out that a black man, T. R. Sanders, had been elected to the town board of aldermen in the last election with white support. "Mr. Sanders is highly respected in the white community." As principal of Simmons he "pulled the school up. It is a credit to him that it was the first black school in the county and among the first in the state to be accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools." Race relations "here have always been pretty good," Gouldman said. There never was a KKK so far as he knows and it has been "a good many years" since the Citizens Council was active.

Thomas Roosevelt Sanders has lived in Hollandale all his life and has voted there since he was old enough. He says that Coleman High in Greenville was the first school accredited by the Southern Association and that Simmons was the first "out in the county" to achieve accreditation. The court-ordered merger "hasn't bothered us in the black community." Before the mid-year reorganization Simmons was a 12-grade school. Afterward, it was limited to the first eight grades. When J. E. Logan left the principalship of Hollandale Attendance Center at mid-year to head Deer Creek Day School, Sanders' son, Howard Roosevelt Sanders, a science teacher at Simmons, was picked to be the new principal at Hollandale.

Both men agree that Title I has been a big help to education in the district. The elder Sanders says that they are "just now beginning to reap the benefits" since the district was in compliance for the first time in September; this released $287,000 from the federal government under Title I.

T. R. Sanders foresees eventual control by blacks of the Board of School Trustees, "by *qualified* blacks." He says the black community won't just "grab up anybody." The reason why Mrs. Granger did not win the total support of the black community in the recent election was that "people didn't feel she is qualified." Did he receive the total support of the black community in his bid for the aldermanic post? "No," he answered.

Howard Sanders said there had not been much civil rights activity in the district. One "major demonstration" made it possible for blacks to sit anywhere in the movie theater, whereas they had been restricted to the balcony before. Now the price in the balcony is 50 cents and downstairs it is one dollar. Earlier there had been some demonstrations at a restaurant and an ice cream stand. So far as he knows blacks have no trouble registering to vote. His father, asked about sanctions against those who went to Hollandale School under freedom of choice, answered, 'I can't say there was intimidation." His recollection was that there were more than 50 who had participated in freedom of choice. Concerning the private school, he said, "I don't see how it's going to last. There must be some [whites] who don't go at all because they don't have that money" (for the private academy). The younger Sanders said that he had heard of some young white children who weren't in school at all but he doesn't know who they are.

Only one family could be identified as having children out of school, and, apparently, they did not go very much before the court order. School board chairman Clarke said that "every child who wanted to go to Deer Creek is there." He "imagines that people would help out with money for scholarships, and boys have been given jobs so that they can pay their own way." There have been concerted fund-raising efforts to buy bleachers and athletic equipment for the academy. One person reported that "they're always having spaghetti dinners at the community center to raise money for Deer Creek Academy."

In order to determine the plans of white parents for their children for the second semester, a parent from each grade at Hollandale Attendance Center called the mothers or fathers of each of the whites in that particular grade. Those who did not know what they would do or how they could afford the tuition of $600 for high school and $450 for the first eight grades were referred to a committee set up to dispense scholarship money.

Scholarships are not formally connected with the academy because of board policy against it, and specific information about grants is difficult to come by. However, various people reported that several families are getting total or partial assistance from the committee. One woman only pays $10 per month for her child in elementary school. Another man has four children, and all are on scholarship. Some families are paying full tuition this year but will be unable to continue to do so. One woman reported working three jobs so that her children would be able to go.

A Greenville *Delta Democrat-Times* story Feb. 1 about the schools in Hollandale told of one man who "had enrolled two children in private school for the remainder of the year, but that he can't afford to do the same next fall. 'I don't know what my plans are, I've got nothing to make my plans on.' " Another family plans to move if the father can get his company to transfer him. The *Democrat Times* story reported that the mother said, "I don't want to get so deeply in debt educating them that they'll have to work for years supporting me."

A group of supporters of Deer Creek apparently has done a rather thorough job of thinking through some of their financial needs, such as school expansion. Businesses in the district have received word of assessments, in some cases running as high as $2,000-$3,000, just on the business. Then the owner himself is assessed another sum amounting to more than half of the business assessment. Thus, a total for some might run as high as $7,500 to $10,000. However, there are apparently no sanctions against those who do not see fit to pay the assessed amounts.

While Deer Creek is overcrowded this year, the students don't seem to mind. Some say they like the same teachers who moved from Hollandale to Deer Creek better at the private school than they did at the public school. They said that a lot of the trouble-makers went to Silver City to school and the atmosphere at Deer Creek is much better for this reason. The private school has all sports except football and it will be added next year. Other extra-curricular activities, such as dances, are a part of school life at the academy as they were at the public school. Students who were taking Latin in public school continue to do so, but it is offered at 4 p.m. at the community center in Hollandale. The teacher is paid by the private school.

Deer Creek Principal Logan has continued his dress and hair standards at the private school. He explained that girls were required to bring a length of cloth to school and if their skirts were too short they have to put the cloth over their legs when they sit down in class. A girl from another school came to the Friday night dance in a pants suit and was turned away for being improperly dressed.

Logan says that he does not have the discipline problems at Deer Creek that he had at Hollandale. The parents take more interest now than they did before when they "took too much for granted. Now they appreciate things more" since they have to pay for them directly. He feels that the future of the public schools and white participation "depends on freedom of choice and the Supreme Court."

While most blacks and whites seem reasonably content with the new situation in the district, Hollandale Mayor J. W. Fore is deeply worried about the long-range problems faced by the small town and the southeast section of Washington County. He says that Supt. Joe Gouldman has been worried "about to death" by the situation. (Gouldman's doctor has ordered him to rest for two hours each day at noon.) Fore grew up in South Mississippi near Gouldman, though they didn't know each other until they moved to Hollandale. Fore says there weren't many Negroes out in the country where he grew up, but he has been closely associated with them through his business and politics since he moved to the Mississippi Delta. Two of the plaintiffs in the school desegregation suit had worked for him at one time. When he learned of the suit he called them and asked them why they wanted to force people to go where they didn't want to go. However, they remained as parties to the suit.

Fore says, "I'm very opposed to being forced to do anything; and the vast majority of colored feel this way too." But, white "people wouldn't accept freedom of choice when they had it and now they want it back. If people had done what they were supposed to do and been fair in freedom of choice and encouraged them instead of discouraging them, then we'd have it right now." He still hopes for a return to freedom of choice, which would result in at least "50 per cent of the colored going back to Simmons and then the whites would return to Hollandale Attendance Center. The compulsory court-ordered merger was brought about by people not working to make freedom of choice work."

His son, who works in his appliance store with him, has a son who has been at Deer Creek since he started to school several years ago. Mayor Fore said, "I was in the first meeting [of the academy planners], and I said, 'We've got to keep the public schools. I can't see how you can keep bringing in industry when you don't have a public school system.' One of the first things I'm asked by industry is what kind of school system have you got." He feels that private schools "just won't do" in the long run. "People might contribute the first year to a scholarship fund, but they won't keep on doing it."

The mayor believes the situation will hurt Hollandale in several ways:

1) "Plants won't move in because they will have to pay workers more so they can afford the costs of private school."

2) "Skilled workers and white collar personnel will move to places where their children can attend public school."

3) Many people who can barely afford the tuition will not have money for "extras" thus taking money away from local businesses. "Almost a quarter of a million dollars is going to the private school while we lose money from the state minimum foundation program" because of the decreased average daily attendance. (Over the last four years, the district has lost roughly $200,000 in state aid as the white attendance has dropped. They will continue to lose at least $25,000 a year in state funds as long as the 150 whites stay out.)

4) A new hospital and a library were dedicated recently. "Many people who contributed to these types of things in the past will not be able to afford to do so in the future."

During the last five years three small, but important, industries have located in Hollandale, employing both black and white workers. The mayor was instrumental in bringing them to the district. Fore favors most programs, private and public, that will mean added revenue for the state and his town. "The first year I was opposed to Head Start. But, I asked Prof. Sanders about it, and, when he finished talking, I was a supporter. Also, when you turn $2-3 million loose in a town, the businessman feels it." He continued, "I didn't vote for John Bell Williams for governor and I disagreed with his Head Start veto. One of our problems in this state is that we have an agriculture legislature. Yet, last year only 10 per cent of our state income came from agriculture and 12 per cent came from the federal government." Disgust showed in his voice as he added, "and then John Bell Williams vetoed the federal Head Start money."

Again the mayor returned to the thing which concerns him the most—the effect of the white exodus from the schools. "It's unfortunate that a bunch of big planters have been able to sway the people to do their way. One of them said, when I told him that the white workers would move out, "Hell, let them move.' Maybe

I'm wrong, maybe they can run both school systems. But how can you run a town where the wealthy people have their children in private school and the working people have to move?"

Kemper County

People often refer to it as "Bloody Kemper," and warn, "You'd better be careful up there." Why? "Well, back in the old days if a stranger rode a horse into Kemper, he'd ride the train out, cause they'd take his horse and claim it belonged to a cousin on the other side of the county." "You're not going up there are you?. . . Well, you'd better be careful. There was almost a lynch party met a group from the Lawyers' Constitutional Defense Committee when they went up there to try a case." A newspaper man said, "If Sen. Stennis would take more interest in his home county, it would be an improvement."

Sen. John Cornelius Stennis, powerful chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee and author of the recent "Stennis Amendment" on school desegregation, is a native of Kemper. He has numerous relatives in the county, including a niece who teaches at the recently organized Kemper County Academy. A drugstore on the courthouse square bears the Stennis name. Sen. and Mrs. Stennis were at home in March to celebrate Easter with their family. On Saturday the Senator telephoned and asked Kemper County school superintendent E. G. Palmer to come over and fill him in on recent developments in the school desegregation issue in the county.

"Bloody Kemper" gets the name from Reconstruction days. Among other things it refers to the lynching of a white "scalawag" judge and his daughter. Three books written about the period—*The Chisholm Massacre, The Iconoclast,* and *Kemper County Vindicated*—are out of print. Although they deal with events of nearly 100 years ago, they are still controversial. The public library would not keep copies if it could get them since at least one family still feels pretty strongly about the events described. One person had copies of two of the books, and both were stolen.

DeKalb, the county seat, is a very small town. The population of 953 there in 1950 had decreased to 880 by 1960. There are about three short blocks of stores in "downtown" DeKalb, mostly clustered around the square. Supt. Palmer, whose office is in one corner of the courthouse, works every Saturday until noon, so he was in when Sen. Stennis called the day before Easter to see him about the school situation. Formerly an agriculture teacher, Palmer was appointed to fill the unexpired term of the previous superintendent in 1967, then elected that fall for a full four years. Kemper County was one of the 30 school districts directly affected by the *Alexander* decision. Blacks made up 72 per cent of the school enrollment last September.

Like many districts, Kemper County has been involved in litigation with the courts, HEW, and the justice department for years.

In their school case, the local board declined to submit a plan in competition with HEW, so the federal court ordered the implementation of the HEW recommendations. In what Sen. Stennis calls its "desegregate now, argue later" policy, the Supreme Court ordered the abolition of dual schools and faculties at once, and the U. S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals provided that after March 1, 1970, a district might come back into court with recommended changes in the ordered plan anticipating a September, 1970, modification date. When school opened the week of Jan. 12, 57 of 793 whites and about 1,850 of 2,060 blacks, previously enrolled, showed up for school.

According to the "Findings of Fact and Recommendations" of U. S. District Judge Dan M. Russell Jr., issued in Meridian on Feb. 24, "Palmer as a result of the court order reported 310 whites in private schools and 433 whites and 210 negroes *(sic)* in no school. He further reported that 11 white teachers assigned to Whisenton have refused to go, that 18 classrooms in this school are closed; all athletic and other school activities in the entire school system have ceased; and that what has resulted is a critical loss of ADA [Average Daily Attendance] money on which the operation of the school is dependent, a crippled school system, and an accompanying deterioration in the quality of its education."

The "Findings" also recorded that Palmer reported only 57 whites in average daily attendance between Jan. 15 and Jan. 22—all at Scooba Elementary School in the eastern part of the county. Palmer "attributed the fact of some attendance of both white and black students at Scooba as due to the relief allowed with respect to this school in the supplemental order of Jan. 2, 1970." The "relief" granted on Jan. 2 by the Fifth Circuit provided for the assignment of 89 black students to formerly all-white Scooba rather than 154 as called for in the HEW plan. When about 35 blacks and 80 whites did not show up as assigned, this gave the school roughly a 50-50 black-white percentage.

While it is not clear why Judge Russell scheduled the hearing before the March 1 date set by the Fifth Circuit, this is a relatively small matter compared to other events that took place on Feb. 24 and the following weeks. The Lynville Elementary School is an interesting case. Lynville, a formerly white school that turned majority-black after the *Alexander* decision, also attracted a number of whites before the Feb. 24 hearing without the conditions of "special relief."

The court had required that the district administration supply enrollment by race for each school during the period January 15-22, and this was done. During those dates there were no whites at Lynville. While Palmer supplied the court with information on total enrollment at each school for Feb. 23, the day before the hearing, he did not tell the court that whites had returned to Lynville, and he did not give the enrollment by race for the school. (There are indications that registration for blacks was held prior to Jan. 16 and for whites after Jan. 22 at DeKalb school; this may also have been the case at Lynville.)

In the figures given the court, the ADA report for January 15-22 listed only 167 blacks. Supt. Palmer said later in an interview that the Feb. 23 enrollment numbered 240 at Lynville and that 30-40 whites had returned. Other reports strongly suggest that the number of whites was as high as 60 by late February.

In accordance with the Fifth Circuit guidelines, the school board requested "relief," that "Lynville shall be so organized that negro (sic) students shall constitute at least one-third of the student body." District Judge Russell recommended to the Circuit Court that this modification be accepted. Based on the record from the Feb. 24 hearing and on the information provided for first semester enrollment of 103 white students at Lynville as of Dec. 1, 1969, the circuit court pointed out that one third of 103 would be a total of 34 black students if the board's suggestions, recommended by Judge Russell, were allowed. The appellate court therefore rejected the suggestion, and ordered the board "to implement the [original] HEW plan as to the school or to discontinue the use of the school, all in the discretion of the school district."

Had the court known that the Lynville school was the only integrated school and the only one actually in compliance with the concept of "racial balance," perhaps its order in the relief judgment would have been different. The school board received the order on Saturday morning, March 21. On Monday, March 23, "in the discretion of the district" the board closed the Lynville school. Its students were transferred to Whisenton and to DeKalb Attendance Center.

Whisenton, the largest school in the county, was built in 1956 for black students. The DeKalb Attendance Center, the oldest and third largest, was built for whites several years earlier. Both are located in DeKalb, about one mile apart, and are former 12-grade schools. The HEW plan originally accepted by the court in November called for the pairing of the two with grades 1-9 at Whisenton, and 10-12 at DeKalb. (In a sense DeKalb was "paired" by HEW with all other schools in that all secondary students above the ninth grade would be housed there.)

In its plea for relief, the school board again cited figures for January 25-22 which showed no whites and 318 Negroes at DeKalb. But the Feb. 23 enrollment, the day before the hearing in Judge Russell's court, indicates 394 students enrolled, and black students also confirm there were whites at DeKalb, and Palmer, on March 28, said that the students at DeKalb were "Negroes mainly."

The board asked that DeKalb "be restored to grades 1-12," and "The entire tenth grade, formerly at Whisenton, shall attend DeKalb Attendance Center." Finally, the board requested that "for the remainder of the semester there shall be no other transfers between Whisenton and DeKalb except that at every class period of the school day at least one class formerly taught at Whisenton shall, as a class, be taught at DeKalb and one class formerly taught at DeKalb shall, as a class, be taught at Whisenton." Judge Russell included this suggestion in his recommendations to the Fifth Circuit Court.

The appellate court adopted the district judge's recommendations for DeKalb-Whistenton with these conditions: "that (the Negro tenth grade students) will be combined on an integrated classroom basis with the white tenth grade students. . The classes which are to be transported for instruction between Whisenton and DeKalb daily are to be integrated for classroom purposes during the teaching periods." The court let stand its Nov. 7, 1969, order concerning faculty desegregation to the effect that the ratio of black to white teachers in each school would be substantially the same as the ratio in the entire system. It also ordered desegregation of the transportation services in this district where 95 per cent of the students are bused to school.

About four weeks after the March 18 order of the appellate court, Roger Mills, a law student presently working for the National Office of the Indigent in Jackson, Mississippi, visited the Kemper district. He reported the following: "I personally observed that the Negro 10th grade students there (DeKalb) are currently placed in separate classrooms apart from the white 10th grade students . . . the black students bussed (sic) to DeKalb with their black teachers (for one class period) and placed in a single separate room set aside for them. The classes at no time were integrated with white DeKalb students." With respect to faculty generally, Mills said, "At no time when I observed each of the four operating schools in the district did I see a white teacher teaching a Negro class or a Negro teacher teaching a white class."

Tom Herman, a writer for the *Wall Street Journal*, reported on his visit to Kemper County in an article printed on May 15. His findings wers substantially the same as those of Mills. Supt. Palmer, in a telephone interview, said that "a lot of things were misleading and some things were untrue" in Herman's article. Palmer added, "the facts ought to be straightened out. People are trying to make it appear that we are flaunting the court's order." Asked if the black 10th graders were integrated in the classrooms at DeKalb as ordered by the court, Palmer replied, "I can't say as to that. As far as the schedule will allow they are. This was ordered seven weeks before school was out. The students made out their schedules in January. To wreck our system at that time (in mid-March) would be disastrous. People choose what to take in school, they pick their teachers, and there won't be any pushing and forcing to put people in certain classes like we have been accused of by this *Wall Street Journal* article. But come next fall we'll have a uniform schedule."

Asked if the plan submitted by the board calling for the transfer of students between Whisenton and DeKalb each class period was working out, Palmer said, "We're doing our best to comply. It's a matter of interpretation of some people. In Spence and Scooba [two schools in the eastern part of the county], they're all mixed together in eighth-grade English and in sixth-grade math."

According to Palmer, one of the untruths in Herman's article was his report that "At DeKalb High, nearly all of the 108 blacks recently staged a mass walkout . . . They complained they were 'second-class citizens' at DeKalb High and would rather be with their fellow blacks [at Whisenton] on an equal footing." Palmer says there were only about 15 in the walkout and "they came back right away."

Palmer says that "whites won't go to school with blacks because there's a difference in morality and social status. It's not so bad in high school, but in elementary school people claim there'll be intermarriage when whites come up with them. Negroes want to improve themselves and they're taking advantage of the opportunities for improvement. But now there are health problems of nearly all kinds and communicable diseases run rampant. I wish people could understand that the Negro has a language of his own. Here we have some of the finest [blacks] in this country. The courts and the NAACP don't realize what we've done for Negro education in Kemper.

"Twenty-two years ago there were 54 one-room Negro schools. In 1952 we did away with these and built four school buildings in different areas in the county. These didn't have any toilets and we built Whisenton in 1956 and eventually, about 1967, we closed the four and added classrooms to Whisenton. In '61 or '62 we built Spencer [the other black school] as an elementary and then added to it in 1967 to make it a high school. Our teachers are all paid on the same basis. Administratively, we have a unitary school system."

Palmer added that when the order came through on March 21 "to go back, the Negroes at DeKalb were the happiest people you ever saw." The Negroes were willing and ready to go along with the change "to help get the whites back." The plaintiff in the desegregation suit was the U. S. Department of Justice. Palmer said there "never was a local plaintiff." Under freedom of choice, "we had 21 or 22 choose to go to the white schools, but when school time came we only got three. The other 18 wanted the school board to let them go back to the black school, and I wanted to let them. But our attorney advised that we might be held in contempt if we did, so they never went to school at all that year." (According to a civil rights lawyer, the attorney was correct in his advice.)

Only three blacks ever attended previously all-white schools in the county and all three are from the same family. Mrs. Thelma Johnson, their mother, filed a complaint with the justice department in March, 1969. Her oldest daughter was the only black student at DeKalb. In her complaint, Mrs. Johnson said that her daughter was always having to fight with boys as well as girls at the school. According to Mrs. Johnson, Principal L. B. Mitchell said, "You're going around hitting on people; if you do it any more you'll be dismissed.' After that the students threw orange peels and gravel at her, and she couldn't do anything about it or fight back. I complained about the treatment to the principal who said, 'If they don't want to go to school here they can turn in their books today,' and no action was ever taken to stop the harassment. Sometimes my children would be forced to stay at home because the school bus didn't pick them up. When I protested this the principal said, "I don't know about it, if I wanted them to go I would bring them myself, if I were you.' "

The black students who attended DeKalb from mid-January to mid-March also registered a protest with the justice department. Among their 14 complaints were the following: Whites and blacks were not integrated in the classrooms or at lunch time; Whites and blacks were in separate buildings; the school day ended at different times; The deadline for enrollment was Jan. 15, but whites were allowed to register until Jan. 28; The principal entered the girls rest room unannounced; There was no faculty integration; Blacks and whites came and went on separate buses; Blacks were not allowed to "trespass" on the white section of the school grounds. The report was dated Feb. 2, 1970.

Whites say that blacks did not like the merger any better than did whites. Blacks say they did not mind it at all, but that they were disturbed by the way merger was carried out. One black senior girl, who started at Whisenton, was out of school for two weeks between semesters, then at DeKalb for a few hours and back out again for two days, and then two months later transferred back to Whisenton, was disturbed about her grades and the problems she might have getting into college. Her parents say that 95 per cent of the blacks favor school desegregation. Others confirm this estimation of support. The complaint of the black community has to do with two things primarily: (1) The closing of Lynville, "the only one that showed any true sign of integration; it was working on a normal basis;" and (2) the limited 10th-grade integration of DeKalb High School.

The Rev. H. C. Rush, a black minister, said he had "asked people to accept partial integration this term if it would better prepare the community for full integration for 70-71. They (whites) feel their people will better accept it once it has worked partially. I don't feel that my people are ready to wait another 10-15 years to get things done, but they are willing to wait a few months or a year to avoid violence. Beyond that I would make no predictions."

Kemper County is directly north of Meridian in Lauderdale County and due east of Neshoba County, and many people in Kemper work in these two areas. While both have seen considerable civil rights activity over the years, there has never been a civil rights demonstration in Kemper. Though there are reportedly a few NAACP members, there is no organized chapter of it or any other organization. One man said, "We don't have any leadership to go into demonstrations or civil rights things.

Over in Jackson and Canton they have a more educated leadership. Charles Evans [Evers] works over around Jackson and that area. We don't have an organization here. If you don't have plans you get in more trouble than you will being successful."

A long-time black resident said, "We have no trouble registering any more." Another man, asked about voter registration among blacks, said, "I'm sorry to say we've not taken advantage of the opportunity we have. There's not more than a third registered." According to the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, approximately 29 per cent of eligible blacks are registered while 100 per cent *plus* of the whites are on the rolls.

The Rev. Mr. Rush said that one bright spot in the black community recently was that "it was brought out in February during the changeover that a majority of our black teachers were better qualified than we realized, though we aren't ready to relax as far as education is concerned. But there were some, black and white, with "C" certificates who are not state-certified. They're worried about being rehired, and I think they should be."

One black educator is reportedly worried about another aspect related to school desegregation. A few months ago he is reported to have said, "I hope they don't integrate. You've got to maintain discipline; the first time I lay a hand on a white boy, somebody is going to come after me."

While many whites in the state look for a return to freedom of choice as the only solution to the "chaos" of the schools, C. H. "Chuck" Sorrels expects "no return to freedom of choice in Kemper. No white is going to go to a Negro school and Negroes won't go over to the whites' school because they're mistreated, so you'll always have a dual system here under freedom of choice." Sorrels is on the board of the newly formed Kemper County Academy, which is presently an eight-grade school at two community centers. At Porterville there are about 75 students and at Cleveland, another small community, there are 325. Sorrels says they got "all but one of the DeKalb elementary teachers" for their schools.

The Sorrels family is from West Point, Miss., originally. Sorrels has two brothers, one in Memphis and one in Jackson. He said that the brother in Memphis has sent his child back to live with his grandmother in West Point because of the school situation in their Memphis neighborhood, and his brother in Jackson is transferring to Memphis because of the school situation in his neighborhood in Jackson. Sorrels, meanwhile, is helping to raise money for the private school for his and other DeKalb white youngsters.

Lamar Sledge is the editor of the *Kemper County Messenger,* a weekly printed in DeKalb. Since printing the court order and a statement by the school board in November, he says he has not carried any news of the "messed up" public school, "just things on the private school." On Nov. 20, in an article entitled "Kemper Searching for Private School System," Sledge wrote:

> The major portion of the adult population of Kemper County met Tuesday night in the courthouse to discuss and explore the avenues of establishing private schools in the county. A more firmly determined, and grimly determined group of people has never been seen in this county. The courtroom was filled with seating capacity overflowing to the windows and not even standing room. The balcony was filled, and this writer sat on the floor of the balcony peering over the railing. The downstairs lobby was filled. All this despite driving rain.
>
> The determined mood of the gathering was that we will not submit; this will not; we will not let this happen to us.

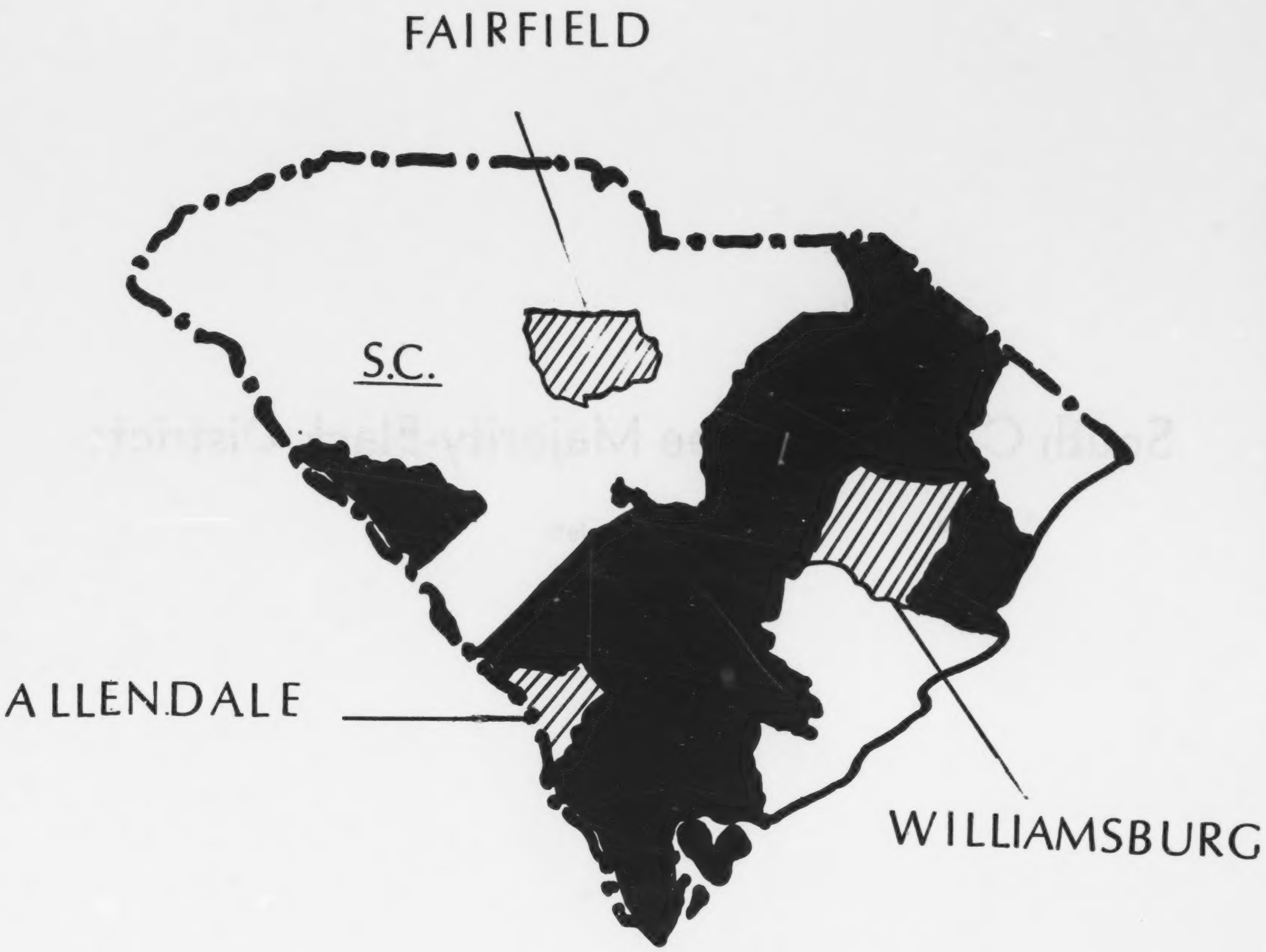
Mel Leventhal, a Jackson lawyer with the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, feels that he has substantial evidence for a contempt citation against the district officials from the federal court and will file an appropriate motion this summer. As for the fall, he plans to ask the court to order the implementation of the original HEW recommendations.

In late May, after school was out, E. G. Palmer was asked how things went generally this term and how he was feeling personally. He replied, "We made it through without any disturbance. Things went mighty well now that we have something we can live with.

"As long as I do what I think is right, I'll feel O.K." He added, "We're not definite about the fall. We hope we won't have to go into court, but we don't know."

South Carolina: Three Majority-Black Districts

by Ed Hamlett



SOUTH CAROLINA—The dark areas represent the South Carolina counties having at least one school district with a total enrollment over 50 per cent black. The three shaded counties—Allendale, Fairfield and Williamsburg—are the location of the majority-black districts reported in detail by Ed Hamlett.

A Call for Compliance*

Earlier this year, the nation heard Gov. Robert E. McNair of South Carolina call for compliance with the law and appeal for order as the U. S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals ordered two school districts—Greenville and Darlington—to eliminate completely their dual school systems. A Greenville native wrote the court order. The man, Judge Clement Haynsworth, coincidentally, on the day of the order, was named South Carolina "Man of the Year."

South Carolinians had been relieved that Judge Haynsworth had chosen to keep his seat on the Fourth Circuit after having been rejected by the Senate as President Nixon's nominee for the seat vacated by Justice Abe Fortas. Within three weeks of his decision in the school cases, a leading daily in Columbia, South Carolina, *The State,* implied that the course of honor, as it had been with a federal judge from South Carolina at the time of the Civil War, might suggest resignation from the bench. But backing up a bit, the editorial said, "it may be best that our [South Carolina] judges stay where they are, tempering the force of higher courts as best they can against the day when reason may be restored to the Supreme Court."

But white residents of the two counties may have asked just how much Judge Haynsworth had tempered the "force of the higher courts" as parents marched to protest the order in their towns and at the State House in Columbia. They protested "not integration" but the "illegal busing" of their children to achieve racial balance and the mid-year timing of the order.

Although the demonstrations were orderly and free of violence or intimidation and while the situation could not by any stretch of the imagination be termed explosive, South Carolina was tense. Many whites had hoped for relief from the new president's "Southern strategy" as proclaimed by S. C. Republicans.

Gov. McNair's statements are credited with having a moderating influence on the state, during those tense days. The governor, however, took pains to explain that he did not agree with the mid-term "mix" order and that he favored "freedom of choice." He also stated that he believed in law and order and that the only recourse was in Congress. McNair went on to exhort Rep. Albert Watson, who is expected to be the Republican candidate for governor in the fall election, and Republican Sen. Strom Thurmond to stop talking and to do something in Congress. He pointed out that Gov. Claude Kirk of Florida had already appealed to the Supreme Court for relief and been denied a hearing on a similar case.

But Congressman Watson didn't heed the governor's advice to stop talking. On Sunday, Feb. 22, he spoke to about 2,500 whites at a freedom-of-choice rally in Lamar, Darlington County. Watson told the crowd that "because of *your* interest, because of your determination, and because of the fact that you have approached this in a peaceful, nonviolent but yet a determined fashion. . . America is now hearing about . . . the problems that we have in the Southland. . ." Pointing out that the House of Representatives had just passed an amendment to the "Health, Education and Welfare Act" to prohibit busing to achieve racial balance and allow freedom of choice in desegregation matters, he said:

> Do you think for a minute that we haven't been discriminated aginst down here? Oh, I know there are those in public office who will say "Don't make waves. Don't rock the boat. Be quiet about this thing." In fact some would say maybe let's sacrifice Darlington County, sacrifice Greenville County and maybe it won't happen to the rest of the state. You're deluding yourself. Every section of this state is in for it unless you stand up and use every means at your disposal to defend what I consider an illegal order of the Circuit Court of the United States. . .

Apparently some people in Lamar did not remember or simply did not choose to regard Watson's words about a "peaceful, nonviolent" approach. On March 3, a group of over 200 whites attacked school buses carrying black students to the previously all-white Lamar High School. The students managed to get off the buses before two were turned over by the angry crowd. Gov. McNair told a small group in his office the next day: "These white people are just like the black power people because both groups know they are losing."

Most whites chose to express their discontent in less dramatic ways. As they began to realize that relief could not be expected from the state or federal levels, they began looking for solutions at home. The most common response from those determined not to send their children to integrated schools was to join the burgeoning private academy movement. From their beginnings in the fifties to the mid-sixties' spurt prompted by the adoption of freedom-of-choice plans in many districts, the "segregation academies" have grown in number to the point where 31 out of the 46 counties in the state have at least one.

By the fall of 1969 there were 32 across the state that had joined the South Carolina Independent School Association, founded in 1964 by Dr. Elliott Wannamaker of Orangeburg. Dr. Wannamaker, whom *South Today* describes as "a contributor to Citizens' Councils publications and a spokesman for white supremacy," has been advising in many communities in South Carolina and in neighboring states how to start a private academy. Having encountered difficulty with the board of his first academy, Wade Hampton in Orangeburg, Dr. Wannamaker is now organizing another more expensive and more exclusive school nearby. Nevertheless, he still finds time to speak to local groups interested in private education.

One observer estimates that twice as many academies organized for the purpose of segregation will be in operation next fall. Schools in churches, pre-fab buildings, converted Victorian houses, new brick and concrete structures erected by skilled-tradesmen fathers and mortgaged for 20-40 years, bear witness to the feelings of thousands of parents.

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*Mr. Hamlett visited the state in the spring, 1970.

A Southerner originally from another state, whose job in education gets him around South Carolina, assessed the impact of private schools on public education: "The academies won't make it. They're 'mad schools.' When the parents cool off most of the children will drift back to the public schools. Most of them can't afford the $300-$500 tuition, especially if they have two or three kids." He observed a difference in South Carolinians and people from other Deep South states: "South Carolinians are more polite than people from Alabama or Mississippi but essentially they think alike [on the question of segregation]."

Questioned about provisions for eliminating of the dual system and long-term education plans in the majority-black counties, he said, "Those guys [superintendents] desperately want a court order, especially if they're elected. And as far as long-range plans go, they don't have any. They're just trying to get through to next September." He continued, "You know, I'm not sure the blacks are gonna go along with it [school desegregation] now. They might have a few years ago. Deep down, white people hate black people."

Many of this man's observations were confirmed by others, except for his last statement. Virtually without exception, whites felt that the South leads the nation in race harmony and that South Carolina in particular is exemplary in the field of race relations. Few local Negroes, if they do so at all, express public disagreement.

The State Government

The state government influences education through the State Department of Education. The position of State Superintendent of Education is a constitutional office; the superintendent is elected by the people every four years at the same time as the governor. Cyril Busbee, the current office-holder, was chosen as the Democratic nominee in the 1966 primary, thus assuring his election in November.

South Carolina is regarded by political scientists as a "weak executive" state. This is said to extend to the heads of the various state departments. Power for most important decisions rests at the local level or with the state legislature. One important exception is the administering in the State Department of Education of federal funds for a number of programs, including those under Titles III, V, and VI of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) and Title III of the National Defense Education Act.

Nonetheless, most battles are carried out at the local level without significant interference from Columbia. A former school board chairman from a Black Belt county said his district had been in turmoil for 40 years over the issue of school consolidation, and he implied that the question of school desegregation, at least to this point in history, paled beside it. A state senator was defeated for re-election because he was on the unpopular side of the issue of consolidation. Neighborhood schools are of great concern to people across the state, whether they're in Greenville, the state's largest system, or in Allendale, which is among the smallest.

Still, progress is being made in reducing the number of administrative units and the actual number of schools. There are now 92 districts in 46 counties. In 1950 there were over 1,500 separate districts. During the administration of Gov. James F. Byrnes, who had been President Truman's Secretary of State, state power was the strongest. In 1950 the state legislature passed the state's first sales tax, which was for the sole purpose of state aid to education. At that time standards were set by the state for local districts if they were to receive state aid. One of the requirements was school consolidation, and state's control of these financial resources led to a significant reduction in the number of districts and schools.

Running side-by-side with this concern for improvement in the quality of education that could be provided, presumably, in larger consolidated schools was the hope that the Supreme Court might uphold "separate but equal education" if Negro schools could be improved substantially. The program to equalize facilities and pupil-teacher ratios in Negro schools in the state went into high gear about 1952, but, as one legislator said, "The goal was never reached, much less in time to influence the Supreme Court in 1954."

While more than half (24) of the state's 46 counties now have a county unit form of school administration, many educators feel too many schools still serve too few children. The state, however, does not impose sanctions on counties or districts that refuse to consolidate administrative units or schools. Rather, the State Department of Education will conduct a study of the system, which, in most cases, points out savings and benefits that accompany consolidation. While not directly related to desegregation *per se,* the same staff and expertise, critics fear, could be used to plan for eliminating the dual system.

One unit of the state department, which is directly concerned with school segregation-desegregation, is the Technical Assistance Office of the Division of Administration and Planning. The two-member staff consists of a white coordinator and a black assistant coordinator. According to the Annual Report (1967-68) of the state superintendent, "This office was established to assist school district administrators and board members with their commitment to the Civil Rights Act (1964)."

During 1968-69, the staff held "more than 215 consultations with boards, administrators and staffs in 64 districts in formulating, planning amendments, and negotiating desegregation plans. They have also advised on problems resulting from implementing plans." The 1967-68 report said, "assistance has been rendered by attitude and opinion surveys; suggesting evaluation and criticism of desegregation plans; accompanying school authorities to negotiate desegregation plans with the Civil Rights Office [of HEW]; and training teachers assigned to teach across racial lines in nine districts."

The report said that "as of July 1 [1968], 25 school district plans to eliminate the dual school system by 1969-70 have been approved by the Civil Rights Office." However, as of February, 1970, only 12 districts have been recognized by HEW as unitary and one of these, Calhoun County District No. 2 is all black, the whites having transferred to Calhoun No. 1 or to private schools. The technical assistance staff gives aid only on request, and it makes no grants from its $70,000-a-year budget directly to the districts. However, it provides assistance to the districts in applying for aid which directly and indirectly eases the transition to a unitary system.

One of the agencies that does make grants to school districts and which sets up and helps to carry out programs, on request, for desegregating systems is the South Carolina School Desegregation Consultant Center at the University of South Carolina (SCSDCC). A former school administrator who no longer lives in South Carolina says that the SCSDCC is effective, at least in part, because of the influence of the State Department of Education with local school administrators. Commonly referred to as "Title IV Centers" because they are set up under legislation incorporated in Title IV of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the primary purpose of the SCSDCC and the 14 other Title IV centers across the South is "to render technical assistance . . . in the preparation, adoption, and implementation of plans for the desegregation of public schools." (Title IV, Sec. 403.) The other functions of the Title IV Centers is the "operation of short-term or regular session institutes for special training designed to improve the ability of teachers, supervisors, counselors, and other elementary or secondary school personnel to deal effectively with special educational problems occasioned by desegregation." (Title IV, Sec. 404)

In September, 1970, 28 districts are set for the establishment of a unitary system. With the 12 districts already in compliance, this leaves 53 open to some type of action by the federal government. The State Department of Education has looked carefully at the Georgia case, which required the state to withhold funds from districts unwilling to comply with the court decisions. This concern with the Georgia case results from anticipation that a similar suit will be filed in South Carolina by the U. S. Department of Justice.

The decision by the justice department on what to do in South Carolina has not been announced, if in fact it has even been made. Apparently, the determining factor is the response from "hold-out" districts. In a recent meeting with district school personnel from across the state, Jerris Leonard, assistant attorney general for civil rights, urged those districts to submit a plan voluntarily. If a sufficient number respond, the state will presumably not be made a party to a suit. However, if a significant number still refuse, then the federal court may be asked to require the state to withhold funds from recalcitrant districts.

Leonard reportedly told the group "all schools will open with a unitary system next fall." One estimate is that 8-10 districts will refuse to submit a voluntary plan, forcing Justice to move against the state or take each district to court individually. One administrator from a majority-black district said, "We will stick with our past policy of letting the courts do it. We feel this will assure more peace and tranquility in our district. But whatever they do, we hope they will go ahead and do it and not wait and come up in August and tell us we must get it done in September."

The district's administrators, who always have insisted that Justice, HEW and the federal courts take the initiative in desegregation matters, had not heard anything for months from the federal government until they were asked to attend the recent meeting with Leonard in Columbia. In addition to the districts that will refuse to submit a plan, it is expected that others will submit a plan they know will be rejected. Given this situation, a suit aimed at the state would appear likely.

The State Department of Education (SDE) is moving cautiously toward desegregation during this year when Cyril Busbee will be standing for re-election as State Superintendent. In June, 1968, Busbee told school administrators that the question was no longer "whether" to desegregate, but "how." In February, the State Board of Education (SBE) set an example for local boards by securing the appointment of its first black member—James A. Blake, a teacher from Marion.

Although the state aids local districts with in-service training for teachers, no provision is made by the state for preparing teachers to adjust to faculty and student desegregation. Nor is this planned for the future, according to a high state education official. The department views its role as that of advocate for measures which improve education generally, and many of the aspects of its program will be of primary benefit to blacks.

The State Board recently adopted an 11-point, five-year plan for education. Among its provisions are reducing drop-outs, reducing the number of first-grade repeaters, and expansion of the 67 units of state-supported kindergarten to a statewide program that will reach at least 75 per cent of five-year-olds.

Another goal is increasing the percentage of high school graduates entering college or other advanced training. The SDE reports that 33 per cent of the high school graduates entered college in 1969. But the proportion of black graduates who go on is as low as 15 per cent in some areas.

James M. Connor, SBE member and a member of the board of directors of the National Association of State Boards of Education, is chairman of the legislative committee of the state board. In this latter capacity, he has special responsibility for representing the views of the state board to the legislature. Some supporters of public education were worried about the possibility that the legislature might cut funds for the schools after the Fourth Circuit Court's desegregation order required Greenville and Darlington to act at mid-year, while the legislature was in session.

However, Connor did not share this fear. With regard to private schools, Connor says the state board is studying its authority to regulate the academies: "Our sole problem is to insure that those students who do go to private school get a quality education. The private academy movement does not represent a financial threat and will not lead to a deprivation of funds for public education," Connor said.

Connor was proven correct as the legislature took no substantive punitive action. Bills were introduced in the 1970 session to repeal the state's compulsory attendance law and to prohibit busing to achieve racial balance, but both were killed in the House Education Committee, which is headed by a legislator from Greenville. Although a bill patterned after the much-heralded New York state law requiring freedom of choice was passed overwhelmingly, liberals and conservatives alike realize that it would have no force in the face of federal court orders to the contrary.

One measure that concerned public education supporters as a possible omen was the local bill that allowed the Calhoun District No. 2 to reduce its local school taxes by 10 mills (from 35 to 25) and to refund this money to the taxpayers. Arguing that the exodus of all white students reduced the amount of money needed to finance the district's schools, the local legislators won easy passage of the bill.

Busbee hopes the legislature and others "will work to avoid the Calhoun situation," which he feels is a dangerous precedent. Critics contend that the problems of South Carolina schools make it necessary to increase funds regardless of white withdrawals and that the Calhoun case is but another example of the education dollar following the white children—this time back into the pockets of parents who will then use it to avoid complying with the law in their districts by sending their children to a "whiter" system or to private schools.

For over a decade South Carolina did not have a compulsory school attendance law, having repealed it shortly after the 1954 Supreme Court school decision. In 1967, the legislature passed a bill requiring "regular" attendance at a public or private school "approved by the state board of education or a member school of the South Carolina Independent Schools' Association or some similar organization, or a parochial or denominational school." (The Independent Association was formed at the instigation of Dr. Wannamaker.) Local districts have until July 1, 1974, to implement the act, at which time it goes into effect regardless of the lack of local action.

Detractors point out that the act gives wide discretion to local boards and courts, and say it is unenforceable as written if local officials choose to disregard it. James Brandt, representative from Allendale County, feels that the act is inadequate and that the lack of an effective compulsory attendance law is the major educational problem in his district.

A statewide law with clout might have an impact on the dropout problem in the Palmetto state. In 1968-69, for the first time in the 100-year history of South Carolina education, more than 50 per cent of the children in the first grade 12 years earlier graduated from high school. But an effective attendance law would also increase the amount of money needed for public schools to maintain pupil-teacher ratios and avoid severe overcrowding.

Dr. Jesse Coles, deputy state superintendent, says that it will require $3 million in five years from the state to do what $2 million pays for at the present time. The state now provides over 50 per cent of the cost of public education while local governments supply about 30 per cent and the federal government about 15 per cent. South Carolina ranks in the top 10 states in the nation in percentage of per capita income going to schools. Supporters of the public schools fear that little more money can be raised from South Carolinians. Seeing lack of money as the major barrier to improved quality, they urged more federal aid. Some are now wondering how they can get a portion of the $1.5 billion which President Nixon has promised over the next two years to ease the problems of school desegregation.

Many of those who have accepted, however reluctantly, the inevitability of integration argue that only substantially improved educational quality can keep whites in the public schools and provide programs that will close the gap between the achievement levels of black and white students. At the same time, private school advocates predict that local and state officials will yield to their pressure to maintain expenditures at current levels and perhaps to reduce them. Some officials agree with this assessment of political "reality."

Fairfield County

At Winnsboro, the Fairfield County Courthouse is a handsome and impressive, white stucco structure. Designed by Roberts Mills, the architect for the Washington Monument, its beauty is enhanced by large Roman columns and semi-circular iron staircases leading to the porch outside the courtroom on the second floor.

Circuit Court was in session. Outside, several Negroes leaned against the banisters and others talked quietly on the porch. Inside, to the left, there were only blacks, who nearly filled the section. A few blacks sat on the righthand side with a sprinkling of whites. It appeared that blacks had not traditionally sat in the righthand section. The courtroom is attractively plain with dark wood and very tall windows. The spectator benches, or pews, are tiered for the convenient viewing of the proceedings.

State Sen. John Martin sat inside the bar at a table with several other lawyers. The case of J. H. Hampton (not his real name) was called. Martin approached the bench, then turned and called, "J. H., you and your wife come on up." Martin had been appointed by the court to defend Hampton in a non-support case brought by the Welfare Department and the county attorney. A white woman, who represents the Woman's Council on Health and Welfare, is the prosecutor's witness. She reads to the court a note which she received from Mrs. Hampton: "Please help me we are starving. I'm in bed and too weak to get up. Send something you had for dinner yesterday."

J. H. Hampton is black, a pulpwood worker and on probation for manslaughter. John Martin also defended him on the previous charge. The Hamptons have six children. When he is able to get work he makes $30-$40 per week, "and sometimes $68." He says he gives his wife $20-$25 per week when he has it. A welfare caseworker says they have had complaints from Mrs. Hampton for years about lack of support. However, it appears that Mrs. Hampton is not pleased that the case has been brought to court as she stands beside her husband with the defense lawyer.

After several minutes of discussion and slightly heated argument, the prosecutor says, "Your honor, I'm going to propose something that I have never proposed before. That is that you revoke this man's probation, put him on the chain gang, and then let the Welfare Department supervise the expenditures for the benefit of these children."

Judge: "I had a man in Bamberg in court who was also a logger. Loggers don't make money every week. Like this man [Hampton], he was away from home a lot. He had 14 children and didn't make enough money to support them. He voluntarily spent a year on the chain gang so his family could get welfare. Now this is a form of peonage. What can the Welfare Department do short of putting this man in prison?"

After more discussion of the case, the judge finally proposes that Hampton be ordered to deposit 60 per cent of each paycheck with the court clerk to be turned over to the women's welfare group to be used to support the children. The judge turns to John Martin, "Do you think you can get it across to him where he's supposed to bring this money?" Martin: "I think so, your honor."

Men like J. H. Hampton help Fairfield County maintain its lead as the number one pulpwood producer in South Carolina—154,337 cords last year. There are fewer jobs in pulpwood than there were in cotton which used to be the main crop. Women and young children could hoe and pick cotton; they can't get logging jobs. But some of the older boys are able to find occasional work in the pine forest so they lay out of school to earn a few dollars. Men like Hampton are also instrumental in the county's median educational level for adults—5.8 years—and in the average annual family income of blacks—$1,642.

In 1960 there were 20,713 people in Fairfield County, 60 per cent of them black. Following the pattern of Black Belt school districts, in the 1969-70 school year black children made up a larger percentage (71.6) of the students than black people represented in the total population. Of the 46 counties in the state, Fairfield ranked 39 in per capita income in 1960. Forty-seven per cent of the students come from families whose income is below $3,000.

The economic problems of the district are interwoven with and compounded by those of education. Since Fairfield is surrounded by wealthier counties, it has difficulty in attracting the more highly qualified teachers. Of 200 children in the eighth grade, only 100 can be expected to graduate from high school. One principal said, "We have many 'dropouts' who haven't left school yet." Social promotion is widely practiced.

According to a former school board chairman, the district "has been in turmoil for 40 years," mainly over the question of school consolidation. There are still 12 schools, nine of them primary, in the system for slightly more than 5,600 students. The primary schools' average enrollment is 400 pupils, but three of them have under 150 students in seven grades. This, however, is considered to be an improvement over the situation in the early 1950's when, one administrator said, "There were so many schools, I couldn't even find some of them." In 1955 there were five white high schools.

Thus far, school desegregation as a controversial issue pales beside that of school consolidation a few years ago. Sen. John Martin was defeated in his bid for a third, four-year term in the state Senate because of his stand in 1960 in support of school consolidation. When the state was reapportioned and Fairfield was joined with Chester County in a senatorial district, Martin ran again in 1964 and was re-elected after a contested recount that went all the way to the State Democratic committee.

Having been a member of the state House of Representatives when the (Gov. James) "Byrnes Tax" was passed for the support of the public schools," and having been a senator when compulsory school attendance was abolished, Sen. Martin can view the school desegregation crisis from a perspective shared by few Black-Belt citizens.

He was asked if whites will support public schools financially if the dual system is eliminated totally. "They don't have much choice with the financial assistance coming from the state and federal governments. They couldn't afford to refuse to pay their county *ad valorem* taxes because they'd lose their property. But, some wouldn't want to support the public schools." Could the local contribution to public education be eliminated or decreased? "Technically yes, but that would mean the destruction of the public system because it couldn't operate without it, and if so, not on an accredited basis."

Will whites support the public schools with their children? "I honestly don't know. Thus far we have been clamped down on. Public opinion has begun to boil. People have lived on the futile hope that freedom of choice would be allowed. If total integration is forced, there will be a lot of opposition vocally. Many will send their children to private schools throwing the ratio out of balance and making it harder on those whites who remain in public schools."

What about the state's role in the controversy?" "Well, the governor's position has been to obey the law and do the best you can. So long as he's governor, that's what will happen. I don't know of anything the legislature can do to change things. I've seen where bills have been introduced in the House to eliminate the compulsory attendance law and to cut off funds for transportation if buses are used to obtain racial balance rather than for educational purposes. We eliminated compulsory school attendance in 1952 and it was a premature step. In the interim a lot of people didn't go to school.

"This county is majority Negro. There may be quite a few counties which are, but our legislative number is limited. We're small counties and we would not be successful on the state level to wreck the school system. So, I don't foresee [the] closing [of public schools] as conceivable. Some will drop out, but not a substantial number. Most poor [children] are poor because their parents aren't educated. Most will send their children to public schools even if they don't like it."

Will you send your children to public school? "My last child is in his second year at Winnsboro High. I don't know how bad the situation will be with complete elimination [of the dual system]. It will be dependent on the local supervisory personnel." After a pause, he said, "I don't look for my son to go to private school."

Do whites feel any sense of responsibility for the situation they now find themselves in? "I haven't seen any evidence of it. I always felt that separate but equal was best, but there's no question about it, the facilities were not equal. People should feel a sense of responsibility. But our generation, with the threat of integration, might have felt that we should do something for them and we began to with the 1951 sales tax. We began to build schools and to pay teachers salaries. By 1954 we had begun to make real strides in giving better school facilities. Part of the reason was that we felt the need to equalize facilities, and partly we hoped the Supreme Court would reaffirm separate but equal. But no leaders ever expressed a feeling of guilt about lack of opportunities.

"I personally feel that Negroes have not had equal opportunities. Now whites are going to be hurt because the pendulum is swinging too far the other way. I personally can see nothing more democratic than a true freedom of choice, which is what we've had here in Fairfield County. But now the North says 'we made them do it; we put it down their throat.' I think the HEW motivation is social integration rather than quality education. Not a one of them has mentioned how it [the elimination of the dual system] will affect education."

The first desegregation, under a freedom-of-choice plan, occurred in 1965 when 158 blacks chose to attend school with whites. This ranked the Fairfield district fourth in the state numerically behind districts in Richland (Columbia), Charleston, and Beaufort counties, all of which are larger counties than Fairfield. However, the next year there were only 99 blacks in previously all-white schools. This year there are 222. Most administrators speak with pride of the progress that the county has made under freedom of choice.

Race relations, by and large, have remained calm throughout this period, as, one gathers, they have always been. But most elected officials are mindful of the black vote potential. While the number of registered voters favors the white community 3,974 to 3,300 blacks, there are 2,500 unregistered blacks of voting age and only 1,000 whites. The NAACP and the Progressive Citizens Club are currently working on black voter registration. Two of nine appointed school board trustees are black. One black man has been elected to the City Council and another to the County Council.

There has never been an economic boycott in Winnsboro, the county seat and largest town, even though very few of the stores have hired Negroes in other than traditional janitorial capacities. One supermarket that hired a Negro cashier has received a larger share of the black trade than it did previously, according to a man who is active in the Progressive Citizens Club. He also said there were not more than a "half-dozen Negroes employed in all the stores." One of the two or three restaurants in town has a small sign which reads "Private Dining Room." Negroes are served through a window on the side.

The textile division of Uni-Royal is headquartered in Winnsboro. A number of Negroes have always worked in some jobs there as they have throughout the Southern textile industry. However, a few years ago the company began hiring for jobs previously held only by whites. Year before last, Uni-Royal recruited in the Negro high school in Winnsboro for the first time. According to the man mentioned above, "some were laid off and those who stayed weren't upgraded." The Manhattan Shirt Company has a distribution warehouse in Winnsboro, and "quite a few colored" work there.

The Klan planned a parade through Winnsboro several years ago, but someone called the sheriff, and he put a stop to it. In the summer of 1965 the Southern Christian Leadership Conference sent in a voter registration team of two black and three white college students. On their first night in the county they received a call that they'd be killed if they stayed another night. Someone brought them into Winnsboro and found them another house. The FBI and the police checked on their safety regularly.

"I told the whites that they'd have more trouble if they bothered them than if they let them alone. There was no further trouble. They done a pretty fair job and got lots of colored registered," boasted a local black man.

O. E. Manigault, a teacher at McCrory-Liston, an all-black school in the western section of the county, says, "There's no biracial committee here, and that's what we should have." Asked about the absence of such a committee, G. M. Ketchin, editor of the Winnsboro *News and Herald*, replied, "A biracial committee is in the process of formation now. Its function would be to look at complaints, at what's bothering people, and see what can be worked out. The city council is discussing it now. One of the five council members is black. Negroes are voting in large numbers here now, and you can't get elected without Negro votes."

One reaction to freedom of choice was the organization of the Richard Winn Academy, named for the Revolutionary War General who gave Winnsboro its name. Founded in 1966, it has 94 students in 12 grades with 16 teachers, seven of whom are full-time. The academy meets at present in two large frame houses next door to each other on Winnsboro's main street. Tuition is $500 per child.

A family with three children would pay an average of $425 per child. Last year the enrollment was 113. William DuBard, the headmaster who formerly taught at Winnsboro High School, said the reasons for the decline in numbers were: (1) lack of individual interest on part of some students; (2) boyfriends and girlfriends at the public school; and (3) tuition costs. The academy will be housed in a new building being constructed partly by volunteers and partly by contracted labor. Its capacity will be 12 grades of 25 pupils each—a total of 300 students. They hope to move into the new building before the end of this school year.

A white, public school administrator said that Richard Winn students had often been problem children in public school—academic rather than disciplinary problems. "I'm not sorry they're there; live and let live."

Public school officials estimate that they might lose 500-600 white students next year, a third of the white enrollment, if, as they expect, the courts order complete merger by September. . . . DuBard said he had "had a number of parents express interest in Richard Winn—more than before." The present enrollment comes from families which range across the middle and upper classes of the county. The mayor of Winnsboro, the president of the Merchants and Planters Bank, a pharmacist, production workers and management personnel at Uni-Royal, and a city employee—all have children in the academy. A former school board member was one of its founders. Still, DuBard says, we "haven't gained the support we had hoped for in Winnsboro," so scholarships were available for only four students.

DuBard says that standards at the school meet or exceed those of the state for public schools. They also have educational TV in the school; last year Richard Winn was the only private academy in the state that did. According to the headmaster, all teachers at the school are paid, under contract, and "better than average." Might a Negro be admitted to Richard Winn in the next five years? DuBard answered, "To be honest, I've speculated about this. I'm just one on a board of 12, but I'd like to think that our people would if the child can pass the entrance requirements."

To "pass the entrance requirements" for any school other than the one they are now attending might prove difficult for the great majority of students in Fairfield County. A study of Fairfield's college freshmen conducted by the State Department of Education in 1969 showed that about 15 per cent of the black and 42 per cent of the white graduates of the county's high schools go on to college. Most of these stayed in South Carolina.

John C. Stewart, a graduate of The Citadel, plumbing contractor, and former school board chairman, explained some of the problems and progress connected with providing integrated, quality education for the students—black and white—of Fairfield County. "The only salvation for a county like Fairfield is to educate those who can't read or write. While I'm certainly not an integrationist, I'm liberal where education is concerned. Niggers have the same right to be educated that anybody else has. We'll most probably make an attempt, an effort, to comply with the law and integrate peaceably. If we had a ratio of 4-1 white like they do in Greenville, instead of just reversed, our problem would have been solved years ago. Maybe this thing is our own fault because we failed to give Negroes an equal education.

"White parents feel it is their responsibility to get the best education possible for their children. So if schools that are 4-1 Nigger are not the way to get this, and if they can't afford private schools, they'll move away if they're skilled. The white textile workers came from the farms during the depression; they have made the greatest strides of anybody in improving their situation. They won't let their children take a step backward to let the Nigger get something for his children. Thirty-five to 40 years ago the whites in Fairfield County were in the same position (educationally) that blacks are in today. The basic question to whites is will my child get the same competitive education with children in Columbia and Camden."

What about the utilization of federal funds like Title I? "When this was first proposed it was on a 'take it or leave it' basis. We decided we needed the programs and the money—we felt them absolutely necessary. We took Purvis Collins out of Winnsboro High (where he was principal) and put him in charge of the federal programs as an assistant superintendent. We felt he was the only man in the county that could run it. He is politically minded and knows the right people. The only restriction we placed on him was that the money be spent on children and schools where it was needed the most. We told the Mt. Zion [Elementary] whites that they were not to ask for money.

"Purvis Collins has been commended many times about the programs. He was able to secure the personnel to run them, and he has run them without a hitch.

They have pushed education forward five years, and brought the best educational race relations that any county could enjoy. (It has also brought $500,000 a year into the county.) I have always thought Collins the smartest man in the county, and in him we had one of the top educators in South Carolina to run our federal programs."

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) and the Economic Opportunity Act have helped education immensely in the district according to local citizens and educators. Under ESEA Title I, specialists in counseling, reading, health, speech therapy, and library science are paid, children are fed free or at a reduced-price, and state funds for kindergarten are supplemented. Title II funds are used to buy library books. Under Title III for innovative education, the county set up kindergartens at three elementary schools for children from rural, isolated areas.

Project Follow-Through funds provided under the Economic Opportunity Act are used to help 230 students in eight first-grade classes who are from disadvantaged homes. Some of these children participated last year in kindergarten and Head Start Programs. Using the University of Florida Parent Education model, two "parent-educators" are assigned to each class. Each takes half the class and visits in the homes of the children at least once each week taking with her "tasks" for the students to perform with parents' help. The parent-educators themselves often have children in the program.

In accordance with the model guidelines, a policy advisory committee composed of parents, educators, nurses and other personnel helps the project define and carry out its goals more effectively. A consultant from the University of Florida visits the county for several days each month.

William Lyles, the Follow-Through Director, said, "We meet with the parents, tell them the services available, encourage them to cooperate with the parent-educators, and ask them to come into the schools to observe their children." He feels that the program is very good because "it takes up where we have been dropping these children after they came out of Head Start." "If the parent-educators don't get by to some homes, the parents call me and ask why," said Henry Sims, the principal of Gordon Elementary School.

This year the district will receive $384,500 under ESEA and about $100,000 from OEO for these programs. Another large grant has come through the state and federal governments for building, equipping and staffing a comprehensive vocational center. The $1-million center, opened last September, serves students from the three high schools and trains adults at night. About half of the students this year are black. The director of the Center said that black students who had desegregated Winnsboro High School came to the vocational school more readily than did students from the two all-black schools. He expects "more Negroes next year because their reluctance will diminish."

Purvis Collins is given credit for getting the district moved from 40th to fifth on the vocational school priority list. There have been no great problems connected with integration at the vocational school or any other school in the county. Collins is reported to have told the teachers, "If you don't like integration, get out of the system."

A. L. Goff is the county school superintendent. A State Department of Education official said, "Purvis (Collins) runs the schools [in Fairfield County]. He's a wheeler-dealer. I don't know what Goff does."

According to a former school teacher and long-time resident of the county, "people" who say Collins runs the schools "know a lot." In fairness to Goff it should be pointed out that he just came to Fairfield County in September of this school year from Swansea in Lexington County, where he was the superintendent. Goff left Swansea "in a heat over integration," in which he took the position that the county must comply with the law and the court orders to desegregate.

Purvis Wesley Collins was born in Winnsboro in 1923. His father, William Calvin Collins, was a textile worker. After naval service in World War II he went back to college to the University of South Carolina, where he was an honor graduate in 1948 with a master's degree in education. With two other men he founded the Camden Military Academy in neighboring Kershaw County and served as its superintendent from 1953-55. Returning to Winnsboro in 1955 with his bride, Ila Mae Clamp of Lexington, he took the job as principal and coach at Mt. Zion, then a high school. Having been involved with education since he got out of the Navy, he has served in almost every capacity in the public schools since 1955—teacher, coach, principal, assistant superintendent and federal programs coordinator. For a time he worked for the South Carolina Education Association (SCEA).

In 1958 Collins was elected to the state legislature and is now serving his sixth term in the House of Representatives. As a member of the Ways and Means Committee and the Education Committee, he is a power not only in his district but in the entire state. He is given much of the credit for passage of the bill setting up the state's demonstration kindergarten program. He was a prime supporter of the act that gave South Carolina one of the most comprehensive educational television systems in the nation. He chaired the education subcommittee that wrote the state's new compulsory school attendance law. In his last bid for re-election his opponent charged in the campaign that it was not right for Collins to be both legislator and assistant superintendent. Apparently Collins' constituents did not agree, since he was returned to the House by a margin of better than 5-1.

The man who ran against him is not his only detractor. People have called him not only a "wheeler-dealer" but a publicity seeker. His power as legislator to appoint the school board and to approve or disapprove the school budget and his position as assistant superintendent, hired by the school board and drawing a salary paid out of the school budget have prompted charges of conflict of interest. He was in the House when he worked for the South Carolina Education Association (SCEA), one of the foremost lobbying groups in the state.

When Collins, the legislator, did not vote for a measure which the SCEA supported, some of the people on the SCEA board "wanted him fired immediately," according to one Columbia-based education observer. Dr. Carlos Gibbons, the executive director of the SCEA, feels that Collins "hasn't done all he could do as a legislator to help education," but he adds that Collins' reason is that he "feels that he has a fiscal responsibility to his constituency." Another legislator charged that the only obstacle to increased teachers' salaries this year was "that damn teacher over there" referring to Collins.

A former legislator said that Collins considered running for state superintendent of education in 1966 but decided against it. Dr. Cyril Busbee, the current state superintendent, praises Collins and feels that the conflict of interest charges are without merit.

Interviewed in his school board office, Collins was asked if he ever felt any conflict. He said that he did not. "I've had to take opposing sides from other educators. Some people think there's an unlimited 'kitty' in Columbia and some teachers are too narrow. We've never had enough money for education in the state. I know where the money comes from and where it goes. I represent more than just education interests. I have a responsibility to all people in Fairfield County and in the state."

And most people—black and white—in Fairfield County seem to feel that the two hats worn by Purvis Collins represent a very creative combination of roles. One black man commented, "So far, Mr. Collins is on the safe side [with the community.] He's done a pretty good job. Negroes continue to support him, and he seems to have a pretty good base. He's never come out on anything against us."

However, blacks who are active in the Progressive Citizens Club and the NAACP say that the two black men appointed by Collins to the school board are unresponsive to the black community and do not try to relate to it in their role as school board members. Collins said he and Sen. Martin "just put them on without any request from the black community."

One of the men, Lloyd McGriff, who is a college graduate, was asked if he were a member of the local NAACP or the Progressive Citizens Club. He replied that he is not. On the other hand, former chairman Stewart says that both men are "outstanding and have brought a clear picture to the Negro community of where it stands educationally in Fairfield County. They've let their race know exactly what happened."

A facet of Collins' philosophy of education is that administrators must fashion a program that "starts at both ends" with adult basic and vocational education on the one hand and early childhood education on the other. It is his opinion that within the next four or five years the state will offer a full kindergarten program. Then federal funds can be used for pre-school programs for four-year-olds.

In Collins' opinion, the two major educational problems for Fairfield County involve integration and white support for public education. First, there is the 72 per cent black school population. Second, there is the problem of financing education. Among the people who now send their children to private school are "some of the biggest taxpayers" in the county. "Based on phone conversations and contacts on the street," he guesses they will "lose down to about 1,000 white students next year" (from 1,600 this year) if the court orders a total merging of the two systems. There has "never been enough local financial support to operate like we want to. Federal funds have helped considerably. They haven't thought of the federal program we won't apply for."

But the resentment of blacks is "not so much race as income level. People prefer to associate with those on the same economic level," he said. There may also be problems in retaining school personnel. One white principal said he "wouldn't be the principal of a majority-black school because of the many social and disciplinary problems involved."

A little over a month after Nixon was elected president, then Supt. W. D. Mitchell wrote to the chief of the education branch of the Office of Civil Rights of HEW:

> I have been instructed by the Board of Trustees to inform you that the only plan agreed to by the Board is Freedom of Choice.
>
> This school district has operated under a valid Freedom of Choice plan during the past four years. Since no complaint has been received in this office, we assume it has the approval of all Fairfield County citizens.

The letter was prompted by the rejection of the local board of a merger plan drawn at HEW's prompting by the Title IV South Carolina School Desegregation Consultant Center at the University. No action has been taken by the government since that time. Collins says they "expect to hear" from the justice department in the near future. The board has taken the position that it is "better to let the justice department and the courts settle our problems" to "prevent local pressure." (School board member Lloyd McGriff said the "board voted to let the courts do it.") However, Collins expects the district to "accept what the courts say." He got the impression from HEW, though the officials didn't actually put it in so many words, that they were doing the best thing by leaving it to the courts. This plan of inaction is considered to have served them well since they have not lost federal funds and since it has "taken off the heat from the local level."

Fairfield High School is the all-black secondary institution in Winnsboro. About a block and a half away is Gordon Elementary School, also totally black. Both schools have a few white teachers. Fairfield is a relatively old school, while Gordon is in good physical condition, with overcrowding conditions relieved by "portables."

Because of Titles I, II, and III and Project Follow-Through, Collins believes that it has "as many education programs as any elementary school in the state." It is also "well-run and well-supervised" by Henry Sims, whom Collins calls an "excellent principal." Yet the county administrator is of the opinion that, "white children won't go" to Fairfield or Gordon, partly because of their location in the Winnsboro black community.

If the courts order a merger of the two systems, then Fairfield will be closed as a high school, though some of its newer classroms may be used by Gordon. A new school is planned on property adjoining the vocational school. If the court orders integration before it is completed the present desegregated high school will go on double sessions. On completion, the new school will either become a junior high or an all-girl high school.

Collins realizes that some districts are testing for a tracking system as a means to continue segregation. "We don't have anything like this in mind. I'd be suspicious of anyone doing this." He noted that the NAACP has "asked that different tests be used," because of the cultural bias.

The Fairfield County Board of Trustees was "one of the first school boards in the state to implement the compulsory school attendance law." However, Collins doubts "that the school board would enforce attendance" if enough people were opposed to it. While there have been attempts to repeal the law in the legislature, he says they "won't get anywhere this year, though they might in the future."

The 12 schools in the Fairfield district are grouped into six administrative "areas." The budgets for the areas are referred to the county Board of Trustees, which prepares a budget for the district. This is then referred to the County Council, which reviews it. The authority for final approval of the budget legally rests with the county legislative delegation. The delegation is composed of Rep. Purvis Collins and Sen. John Martin.

Collins, asked if people would support integrated public education with their tax dollars, replied that "people in politics are receptive to what's being told them by their constitutents. If a lot of people are opposed to something it will have some effect. I'm a politician myself. Of course, we could have all black elected officials with blacks making up 60 per cent of the population." As things stand now, however, "people will be reluctant to support two school systems" (meaning a public and a private system).

On the state level "if there is an effective and popular private system in South Carolina, this will have an effect" on state expenditures. "Public education is in trouble in South Carolina." Many of the people who now support the private-school movement have been the most active lobbyists for state aid to education. With "less pressure from people of influence" then state funds may be cut. It may take "10 to 15 years for this thing to level off."

Williamsburg County

Williamsburg County lies in the low-country of South Carolina. From Columbia, state highway 527 goes through Sardenia, then along the Black River to Kingstree, the county seat. Tobacco barns dot the farm countryside. The head of the corporation that is the county's largest employer explained that the barns represented a change in agriculture. "Cotton used to be the crop. This is a poor county. Sometimes I think wherever there was cotton you're going to find severe poverty," he said.

By almost any standard Williamsburg County is poor. The average family income in 1960 was $1,631, the lowest in South Carolina, and over 68 per cent of the families had incomes below $3,000. Of the 3,081 counties in the United States, Williamsburg is the 19th poorest.

Industry has been slow to take up the slack left by farm mechanization. Competition for factories has been stiff from other areas that are less isolated, where land is easier to come by, and where potential workers are better educated vocationally. Of the population over 25 years of age, 31.3 per cent have completed less than five years of formal education, ranking the county sixth lowest in the state. Of 535 students who graduated in 1968 from seven high schools designated "high priority" by federal standards, 12 per cent (68) entered college, while the national percentage was 75 and South Carolina's was 57.9 per cent. A recent application for a federal aid program, from which the above figures were taken, states: "Statistics on the children entering kindergarten in September, 1968, show that the median mental age for 527 five-year-olds was 2.4 [years]."

Williamsburg County was settled in 1730 and General Francis Marion, the Swamp Fox of the Revolutionary War, got his nickname from the marshes of the area. Now wealthy corporation executives lease hunting and fishing rights in the county to take advantage of the abundant wildlife in and around the swamps.

For decades the people worked the land for cotton. After diversification they worked in tobacco; then many of them worked in Rochester, N. Y. Rochester? When George Romney was campaigning for his party's nomination for the Presidency, he visited Rochester's black community, where he kept meeting Negroes whose home was Williamsburg County, S. C. Jack Bass, Columbia bureau chief for the *Charlotte Observer*, wrote in a recent article about the schools in Williamsburg that many of the students being educated in the county may become "future citizens of Rochester, N. Y., where thousands of Williamsburg County Negroes have migrated the last two decades, their families now accounting for almost half the Negro population there."

Romney was so intrigued by the large proportion of Rochester blacks who came from Williamsburg that he planned a trip to Kingstree to meet with black and white leaders. Out of his visit the first biracial committee of Williamsburg County was formed. One of the men who helped to pull together the group that met with Gov. Romney was Cleo Fennell, who heads the enterprise that is the county's largest employer—the Williamsburg County school system.

Fennell is the school superintendent. The superintendent is elected, while the school board is appointed by a majority of the county's legislative delegation. Appointed in 1958 to fill the unexpired term of his predecessor, Fennell was elected in 1960 to his first full term and re-elected in 1964 and 1968.

Cleo Fennell is the man with the most power and influence in Williamsburg County, and he and his staff receive widespread admiration. But Williamsburg's educators have received much more than admiration and praise. They have gotten cooperation from private, state, and federal sources—and hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Williamsburg County has received more federal funds per student than any district in South Carolina, according to Warren Buford at the University of South Carolina Title IV School Desegregation Consultant Center. While the average local contribution toward the total cost of education in South Carolina districts is 30 per cent, due to the extreme poverty and the small amount of industry, the Williamsburg percentage is 10. With education expenditures last year at $4 million the county provided $400,000, the state $2 million plus, and the federal government about $1.5 million directly, with other funds going from Washington to the district through the program contributions of groups such as the state university's Title IV Center.

In 1960 there were about 41,000 people in Williamsburg County—65 per cent of these are black. The average family income of black people in 1960 was $916. The school enrollment for 1969-70 is 11,400, of whom 8,300 (72.8 per cent) are black. Tests showed that 24 per cent of seventh and eighth-grade students were reading at third grade level or below.

The problem is compounded by the fact that seventh and eighth-grade instructors are not adept at teaching reading. Fifteen of the 25 elementary and secondary schools are "high-priority" institutions, which means that at least 65 per cent of the students in a school must come from families with less than $3,000 annual income.

If the administrators of the Williamsburg County school system are overwhelmed by the implications of these facts, they do not show it. Many white people, including educators in South Carolina, especially in the majority-black districts, talk of being "smothered" by the prospect of integration. They do not know what they will do if and when *the day* actually arrives and most presume it will. But Kingstree people believe they can cope with the situation. The district has been through freedom-of-choice. It has accepted the fact that this is inadequate by court standards. Its plan for a completely unitary system for the fall of 1970 has been accepted by HEW and the courts. From the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 there has been no attempt to tell people that integration could be avoided.

Cleo Fennell said, "The best approach is to be frank and tell people the truth. It's not always what they wish to hear, but you'd better tell them the truth. We in the South have spent too much time worrying about the inevitable, worrying about racial integration when we should have worried about education. We are beginning now to make changes that should have been made long ago.

"The major problem for some time has been the failure of those of us connected with education to change with the change in the general philosophy of education that occurred two or three decades ago. The real goal of elementary and secondary education is to provide each child with the amount of education he or she is ready to take. There has been too much emphasis on the group. Also, too many of our resources were placed in the high schools and not enough in the elementary schools."

Warren Buford of the Title IV Center staff said, "Williamsburg County is a case where desegregation really helped a system identify its pressing educational problems that have existed for years and start to do something about them. They're putting their federal funds to damn good use, and they've gone after all they could get." ("All they could get" in 1968-69 amounted to over $1½ million.)

According to a state Department of Education official, the black community supports the administration's efforts in the district. He said, "There's an openness [between the races] in Williamsburg. They've decided to bury the hatchet."

Conversation with two of the leaders in the Negro community in Kingstree suggested the hatchet had never been taken up. They felt that Fennell had done a good job of getting federal funds and that parents support his programs. If there is any burying of the hatchet it is in the sense of giving the white leadership in the county "a chance to do right." Next year will be a test. If things don't go well, the white community may find Negroes "trying to get every office" in the county.

The Williamsburg Voters League is the primary group in the black community. While it has been involved in seeking jobs for Negroes, and in opening the county's few public accommodations, as its name implies it is concerned principally with voter registration. About 45 per cent of these registered to vote in the county are black. However, the potential increase of the white community is only about 1,000 while that of the black is close to 4,000.

The merchants in Kingstree depend on the Negro community for over 75 per cent of their business. A few have hired Negroes in any but the most menial of jobs. Surprisingly, there has never been an economic boycott.

The two black men said, though, if the merchants pull their children out of the public schools next fall, they "wouldn't be surprised to see a boycott."

Apparently, some of the younger members of the community are not now as patient as these men. Charles Murray, the principal at all-black Williamsburg Training School, said one of his seniors refused to go across the highway to purchase something for him at a small grocery. The young man said that he wouldn't patronize that store because the owner had sent his child to a private school in a neighboring town.

Besides the Voters League, which is all black, there is the Biracial Committee that emerged from the Romney visit. While it continues to function, its activities are very low key. The Rev. William Bishop, pastor of the First Baptist Church and the current chairman, believes that the group's "best accomplishment is that it brought the two groups together in a mutual exchange of ideas about the problems of the community."

It hopes to keep open the lines of communication. While it has no power officially, it has sought to encourage fair and equal employment, helped with the development of a manpower training center, and looked into ways of bringing in industry that will increase job opportunities for white and black. As for the issue of public education and preparing the community for the total integration scheduled for the fall, Bishop said that the committee planned to discuss the issue at the next meeting.

People in the community didn't seem to know much about the committee's activities. Bishop explained that its meetings have not been open to the public and that there were no current plans to change this policy. He knows of no other group that is scheduled to hold open meetings to help with the transition. He added that neither the white nor the black community knows of the specific plans for the fall. It is his feeling that the responsibility for informing the people lies with the superintendent's office.

To date some desegregation beyond freedom-of-choice has taken place in the district. The situation may be unique in the Black Belt. Freedom of choice has been in effect since the 1965-66 school year. In 1969-70, 649 black students went to predominantly white schools. The uniqueness of desegregation, however, is seen in three predominantly white schools where 315 black and 265 white students were assigned to the seventh or seventh and eighth grades, and in several schools where 40 black and white teachers have crossed over to instruct, primarily in kindergarten and first grade. At Kingstree Elementary, a predominantly white school, the first six grades had 78 Negro students and about 650 whites. But in the seventh grade there were 166 black students and 91 whites. In the Greeleyville School, the seventh and eighth grades were integrated, there being 35 whites and 48 blacks. However, in the other 10 grades there were only six black students who attend under freedom of choice.

One result of this situation is a private school in Kingstree with two sections of first grade and one section of seventh grade, which meet in the Methodist and Presbyterian churches. There are about 70 students in the three sections. In Hemingway, the second largest town in the county, a private academy has about 150 students in grades 1-8. The board of the school plans to expand the building in anticipation of an increased demand for private, "quality" education next fall. The Kingstree group hopes to have a building ready by the fall that will initially house grades 1-8. Expansion to a full 12 grades is expected as soon as sufficient funds can be raised.

* * *

A "Readimobile" operates as a self-contained "mixed-media road-show." It "plays" nine communities in one week and perhaps could be called an "educational circus" for four-year-olds in Williamsburg County. There are 16mm slide, and filmstrip projectors, a tape recorder, a phonograph, a "listening center" apparatus like they have in the first grade classrooms in Kingstree, a Peabody Language kit, and magnetized letters and numbers. At one end of the "Readimobile" a curtain can be pulled to reveal more teaching wonders. Tiered seats inside will accommodate 10 pre-schoolers. Outside an awning and a long table can be attached to the side for pretty days.

This is the beginning point for the comprehensive early childhood education (ECE) program in Williamsburg County. There are, according to a local administrator, only six Readimobiles in the Southeast—two each in Mississippi, Georgia and South Carolina.

Title I of ESEA provided the vehicles and two black women, one of them a nurse, were trained in teaching methods and use of the equipment. A schedule was set up, and the word went out to the isolated areas of the county that four-year-olds could come to a crossroads store or church near their homes once a week and begin their "formal" education. When a driver could not be found, one of the ladies said she would drive and she has ever since.

Next year each of these four-year-olds will go to one of 21 kindergartens at nine elementary schools, which are provided by Title I giving the county the most comprehensive kindergarten program in the state. About 65 per cent of the five-year-olds in the county are now in the kindergarten program. (The program is open to all, but white parents have not chosen to send their youngsters, except to one predominantly white school.)

By January, 1969, the county Board of Trustees and the school administration had approved a comprehensive five-year plan for early childhood education. Developed by Miss Mary Harper, who has a master's degree in early childhood education (ECE), the plan called for a gradual reorganization of the K-3 grades, curriculum revision, new staffing patterns to include paraprofessionals, emphasis on individualized instruction, and extensive teacher training. Two state Department of Education and two University of South Carolina ECE specialists participated in the plan development.

In September, 1969, a pilot program for first graders was expanded to include 28 first-grade classes. There are 28 teachers and 20 teacher aides involved in the program. All aides are paraprofessionals. In addition to this, over 200 children in eight first-grades in three high-priority schools are participating in an OEO-funded Follow-Through Program, which is designed to follow a disadvantaged child from kindergarten or Head Start through the third grade (and perhaps eventually the sixth). Intensive help is provided at all levels—food, health care, educational equipment, reduced pupil-teacher ratios. Pre-service and in-service training and supervision are provided by the University of Illinois, where the Engelmann-Becker model used by the district was developed. All teachers and aides may receive up to 12 hours credit from the University of Illinois for completing a correspondence course and meeting other work requirements.

The availability of credit for in-service training work from the University of Illinois is but one of a number of opportunities for educational advancement for the district's entire staff. Since September, 1968, over 100 teachers, aides, and other school personnel concerned with kindergarten and first grade have participated in more than 10,000 hours of instruction in early childhood education.

The administration began last winter to involve second and third grade instructors with in-service training looking to implementation of the full ECE program next September. ECE specialists Dr. Milly Cowles and Dr. Kathryn Daniel of the University of South Carolina say their faith in the potential of education has been restored by what they have seen developing in Williamsburg County.

Columbus Giles is the black principal of all-black Anderson Elementary School (grades K-6) in Kingstree. Through the use of Titles I, II, and III of ESEA, Anderson is a showcase of quality and compensatory education. Giles' brother, Napoleon Giles, is the director of the Project Follow-Through in the district. The other elementary school is predominantly white Kingstree Elementary with grades 1-7.

At Anderson the well-stocked reading clinic has a staff of four trained and certified for teaching reading at any level. Most of the clinic students are black, but some white children come from other schools for the program. (A young white man who was totally illiterate came in the afternoons for a year and learned to read.)

A program for the Educable and Trainable Mentally Retarded (EMR & TMR) has one teacher working with a group of five to seven students at a time in math or in language arts. Several groups come together for homeroom, physical education, and art and science. The children range in age from 7 to 13 years. Giles said he had to fight to keep the program since the administration wanted to shelve it because of the relatively high cost. A guidance counselor and a speech therapist come several times a week to help children with special problems.

Next year, Anderson and Kingstree elementary schools will be paired with all children in the zone in grades K-3 at Anderson and those in 4-6 at Kingstree. Giles will continue as principal at Anderson. Thus, he and Anderson will continue to play a major role in the county's early childhood education program.

There are gaps in the county's current program. Grades 4-6 and 9-12 have received relatively little attention to date. To be sure, as the children in the K-3 and 7-8 program move up they will be far better equipped for learning than are most of the students in these grades now. But the educators in the district are not just sitting back and waiting for this to happen.

A training session for teachers of grades 4-6 begins this summer. Next fall the children will begin a "programmed instruction" curriculum, with materials tailored for individual levels of ability and the amount of instruction each is able to digest. This is already being done at the seventh and eighth grade levels with materials developed by Science Research Associates in Chicago.

A pre-vocational, small motors program has been instituted for boys in grades 7-10 who are behind in school and who have shown little interest in the academic program. English, arithmetic and general science will be keyed to the vocational program. It is hoped that the interest of some boys in the regular academic program will be stimulated by this special vocational education and that those who do not will learn a valuable skill by which they can support themselves after graduation.

"If we had only started 20 years ago, things would not be so difficult now," one administrator said. Another person commented, "People are talking more about education now than ever before, but how things will go is not clear." However, some important things are definite because they have been well-planned.

A district coordinator said, "Cleo Fennell has assumed that we can do it somehow." Another person in Kingstree described Fennell and the administration as "pioneers" because they are attempting to do what has not been done before—to integrate fully a Black Belt school system and at the same time provide quality education. Fennell has reportedly said that they intend to abide by the law and "come out with the best education program in the state."

In this regard, the administration's assumptions can be summarized as follows: (1) Quality education has not existed in the past. The administration believes that most of the black and white people of Williamsburg County share its desire for quality education. (2) Desegregation is the law of the land and will work if, and only if, the private school advocates are outflanked by a superior public educational program. (3) Quality public education can be provided only if current levels of state and federal contributions are maintained or increased.

James Connor, who represents the district on the State Board of Education, commented on the importance of federal grants to education on a statewide basis. "It's fantastic how dependent we've become on the overall 15 per cent federal contribution."

Bearing in mind that the federal portion in Williamsburg is 40 per cent, it is not difficult to see why Cleo Fennell would say that the system would not be able to operate its present program for more than six weeks if federal funds were cut off. Barring change in federal allocations, next fall all of the programs listed will be continued.

An addition to the ECE program next year, a non-graded system for grades 1-3 with a team-teaching approach will be begun. Teams will consist of integrated teacher-aide combinations with white aides working with black teachers and vice-versa. Asked if the non-graded approach to ECE will result in a tracking system that will find most blacks grouped in one section of the program and most whites in another, Miss Harper, the ECE director, said:

"Our tests of this year's first graders indicate no significant differences between the two races in levels of ability. We have identified six major sequences of language development (the major component of the program) within the first three years of non-graded school after kindergarten. Within any one sequence we expect to have children of both races and sexes and perhaps some of all three age levels, presuming of course that there will be whites in school. We're planning a sound educational program for children—not black children or white children."

Another federal grant requested would support a program this summer that would help to break what the administration calls the "vicious socio-economic educational poverty cycle" operating in the county. The Williamsburg County Educational Career Development Opportunity Program would provide career opportunities in education by employing and training a minimum of 75 persons of low-income background with teacher certification as the ultimate objective. A majority of the trainees will be black.

Some are already employed as Title I Kindergarten aides. The county seeks $114,000 through the federal Educational Professions Development Act. $104,00 of this will go to the University of South Carolina for instruction. The trainees will be paid through Title I of ESEA as paraprofessionals in the county schools. A grant of $172,500 is expected for this purpose.

Involving considerably more money and resulting, it is hoped, in even greater long-range benefits to the area is the Williamsburg Regional Manpower Center. On April 10, 1969, the Economic Development Administration (EDA) and the Coastal Plains Regional Commission (CPRC) announced the funding of $1.5 million toward the total cost of $2.14 million for land, construction and equipment. Some people describe the center's placement in Williamsburg County as a "coup" for Cleo Fennell.

It will be one of the first such centers in the nation. In addition to the EDA and CPRC—the two federal agencies involved—five state departments were brought in on the planning and funding of the center. The ninth administrative component is the Williamsburg County board, composed of nine local men appointed by the Governor and who elected Cleo Fennell chairman. The Center will be located on the outskirts of Kingstree next to a planned county high school. Students there will receive vocational education. In addition, two years (referred to as grades 13 and 14) of technical education beyond high school will be available. With these two and other components funded through the Manpower Development and Training Act and Vocational Rehabilitation, the center is expected to operate continuously from 8 a.m. to 10 p.m., after completion in January, 1971.

In spite of the competition from the public sector, private schools in the county hope to attract more than a handful of children. This year there are over 200 children enrolled in the two existing academies. Several people said that they expected 500-600 white children to leave the public schools next fall. Some will go to private schools, some will not go at all because their parents can't afford the academies.

If this estimate proves to be correct, then the public schools will be 76 per cent black next September compared with 72.8 per cent this year. Twelve to 15 teachers are also expected to leave the system, some to teach in the private schools. (One observer remarked that the public system would benefit if some of those rumored to be quitting actually do.)

The state's compulsory attendance law, which goes into effect automatically on a statewide basis in 1974, has not been passed in Williamsburg County as it has in some Black-Belt areas. Thus, it is not illegal for children to remain out of school. Although many students, parents and teachers say now they won't participate in a unitary system of public education, when September rolls around most of them are expected to be in public schools.

Plans for September indicate that a few of the schools, because of residential patterns, will be half-black and half-white. Others may have black-white ratios of 5-1, 8-1 or even 11-1. Where a white child lives may have more to do with whether he goes to school than any other factor. Certainly for those children who cannot afford to go to private school, the relative importance of segregation and education will be demonstrated.

An estimated 600 to 1,000 white children come from families with incomes below $3,000 per year. A black principal said that it had come to be a joke among black high school students to think that some whites might not go to school at all because they can not avoid desegregation.

If whites are worried about next fall, few, if any, blacks seem to be. There apparently will be no attempts to reduce the number of black teachers in the system.

On the other hand, one problem predicted to occupy the attention of the black community in the near future is participation in the decisions about schools. Recently, one of the administrators said that they had erred in failing to involve the teachers, black and white, in the planning for some of the new programs. They plan never to make this mistake again. Additionally, the black community as well as the administration is disturbed about the fact that there are no Negroes on the Board of Education. The state senator has been willing to appoint blacks for some time, but he has not been able to get the approval of one of the two house members.

The problems of education in Williamsburg County were summed up in the COP proposal: "The job of change-agent of the public school system in Williamsburg County is clear, if awesome."

Allendale County

Last summer at a dinner party in Nashville, a young New Yorker on a tour of the South was asked about his interest in the region. He replied that he was primarily interested in Allendale County, S. C. "My family owns 27,000 acres there," Beekman Winthrop explained.

Twenty-seven thousand acres is very roughly the same amount of turf as 27,000 football fields. The young man's family owns approximately one-tenth of the land in Allendale County. While this, the Gorton Plantation, is the largest in the district, Allendale is known for large farms. It ranks 45th of South Carolina's 46 counties in number of farms (338); the average farm size is 441.2 acres; the value of an average farm is $53,622.

Robert Evander McNair, governor of South Carolina, also owns land in Allendale County, where he once practiced law and for 12 years represented the county in the state legislature.

In Allendale, as in many other South Carolina districts, the county legislative delegation recommends persons to the governor for appointment to the county school board. This virtually assures their appointment. The school board, in turn, appoints the superintendent. Allendale County, however, has a unique system of organization, even for South Carolina. The county superintendent of *education* is elected by the people, is a full-time employe of the system, and serves as the school board chairman. The county superintendent of *schools* is appointed by the board. In the 1950's, as a member of the county legislative delegation, Robert E. McNair telephoned his friend and former teacher Henry White and asked him to accept the job as Allendale superintendent of schools. White did so reluctantly; it is doubtful that anyone but Bob McNair could have persuaded White to leave his more comfortable situation in the coastal county of Georgetown for the poor, rather out-of-the-way Allendale school post. White had lived in the McNair home when he was a young school teacher.

The superintendent of education in the district, J. D. Livingston, has power by law; Henry White has it by custom. It is said in Columbia that the two do not get along. While this may be true, it appears that Livingston steers pretty clear of substantive school business such as desegregation.

A Columbia-based official said, "Henry White is a good person and a good friend of mine, but, bless his heart, his approach is normal and unimaginative. He could have done more." "Henry will tell you that people think he has a lot of influence with the governor, but that he doesn't really. However, he still believes that he has," reported one state official.

There are a couple of things that would indicate that the governor has some confidence in White. On McNair's recommendation, White was appointed to the Federal Regional Education Lab for Virginia and the Carolinas. Also, White is one of the governor's three appointees to the nine-member Legislative Commission to Study Education in South Carolina. The commission's scope is broad; one of its tasks is the recodification of the school laws of the state; additionally, it recently visited Greeley, Colo., to view its kindergarten program.

People in the Title IV Desegregation Center at the University of South Carolina can talk for hours about some districts in the state, but no one knew much about Allendale. One reason for this lack of knowledge is that the Title IV Regional Desegregation Center in Atlanta prepared the HEW plan for Allendale County for eliminating the dual school system. Since county officials could not agree with HEW on a single plan, they submitted a competitive proposal.

U. S. District Judge Charles E. Simons, Jr., on July 22, 1969, adopted the county plan over the HEW plan for the 1969-70 school year. Judge Simons, after reviewing both plans, said, "The District's plan for 1969-70 would actually accomplish more desegregation than the plan submitted by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and apparently is more feasible administratively. In addition, the plan provides for a substantial increase in desegregation of classroom teachers."

As a means of accomplishing "more desegregation," the county plan called for closing the secondary section of C. B. Byrd, a Negro high school in the county's second largest town, and transferring the students there to Allendale-Fairfax High, the predominantly white school, and to C. V. Bing, the other all-black high school. Over the years there has been a considerable rivalry between C. B. Byrd and C. V. Bing. Some Byrd students did not like the idea of having their school closed and of being transferred to Bing or to Allendale-Fairfax. But most went along with it, according to a local teacher, and there were no serious problems in the transfer.

Before school started in September, 1969, the school administrators sent letters to 50 Negro students of high school age asking them if they would be interested in transferring to Allendale-Fairfax High. Persons were allowed to reply by mail or phone. Five replies were received. Two of them were negative. At the beginning of school another effort was made by the authorities, and 20 black high school students transferred to A-F High. In 1968-69 in the entire system, there were 2,078 black students of whom 46 were in school with 885 whites. In 1969-70 after Judge Simons' order, there were 1,995 blacks, of whom 82 were in school with 871 whites.

It should be pointed out, also, that the three white schools operated in 1969-70, as they did in 1968-69, at an average of 100 students per school *under capacity*. All black students who live in the Fairfax community area were bused past A-F High on their way to Bing, which is about a mile away on the same highway. There are only 38 black students at A-F High.

The district's plan called for 15 more Negro students to "be asked to attend the predominantly white Fairfax Elementary School." However, the board's figures show that there were 14 there last year and 16 there this year. The plan also called for 50 additional Negro students to "be asked to attend the predominantly white Allendale Elementary School," giving this school approximately 80 Negroes and 372 whites. There were 14 Negroes at Allendale Elementary in the 1968-69 school year. There are 30 Negro students this year. There was no plan to bring about any pupil desegregation in the black schools.

Another reason for the judge's adoption of the district plan was its provision for a "substantial increase in desegregation of classroom teachers." In 1968-69 11 full-time teachers (sometimes called "crossover" teachers) were assigned to schools in which they were in the racial minority. Five Negroes were in three predominantly white schools and six whites at three all-black institutions. In that year there were about 148 teachers each of whom was assigned to a particular school on a full-time basis.

Several other black and white specialists (music, art, speech therapy), taught at two, three, or four schools on a rotating part-time basis in "crossover" situations. This year the number of full-time "crossover" teachers is 14 (an increase of three) with a few additional part-time staff crossovers. A new white principal was assigned to an all-black school and was given an experienced black assistant principal. One black speech therapist serves all four elementary schools. The total number of teachers is 133, a decrease of 15. Judge Simons' order of July 22, 1969, stated:

> I am convinced that the Defendants have acted in good faith in their proposals to the Court and in their past implementation of their freedom-of-choice plan. Rather than adamantly insisting upon a continuation of freedom-of-choice, they have submitted plans *quadrupling student desegregation* and *greatly increasing faculty desegregation*. . .
>
> After careful consideration, I have concluded that the plan submitted by the District should be accepted by this Court for the school year 1969-70. It should be modified to *provide that the students proposed to be transferred will be in fact be assigned to the predominantly white schools*. . .
>
> I am, however, in agreement with the Plaintiff's [the Justice Department] contention that a desegregation plan must be adopted by the District which provides for the final elimination of the dual school system. The District is, therefore, *required to develop an adequate plan for the elimination of the dual school system* with detailed Steps for the 1970-71 and subsequent years. (Emphasis added)

He added this warning about freedom of choice:

> The principle of *Green vs. New Kent County* . . . is that a freedom-of-choice plan is not adequate unless it offers real promise in achieving an end to the dual school system. Unless the proposed plan [for 1969-70] of the District and the effects which it achieves this fall are demonstrated to show such hope for real progress, I will be required to consider some alternate means of eliminating the racial identifiability of the District's schools.

The plan for 1970-71 and subsequent years presented by the Allendale School Board on Dec. 1, 1969, for the judge's consideration had seven major points:

1. Complete desegregation of faculty of all schools . . . in a manner such that the percentage of white and Negro teachers will approximate the percentage of all teachers in the district.

2. Complete and total desegregation of all buses, . . . assigned on a school basis.

3. Any schools whose names create racial identifiability will have their names changed. (C. B. Byrd and C. V. Bing were prominent Negro educators in the county. It is a rather common practice throughout much of the South to name black schools after local or national Negro figures and to name white schools after the town or county. Thus, while the names of the black schools would be changed, the names of the white schools would not. One Negro said he did not object to this if it will "help achieve desegregation.")

4. This section lists the schools, the grades they will contain, and the number of students planned for each of them. It provides, as is the case this year, for four elementary schools, two high schools and one vocational school. Each school will contain the same grades next year as this year. No statement here or in any section of the plan sets forth how many white and Negro students will actually be assigned to each school.

5. This section states that all students will be given nationally recognized tests in the winter of each school year which will be machine graded. Those students that need it will be assigned to special remedial classes. They will be placed in the "proper grade level on the basis of annual retesting."

6. Class size will be reduced for those students, who are substantially behind in grade-level achievement and programs will be provided to speed up their educational development so that students may advance to higher achievement levels as quickly as possible.

7. On the basis of the school organization outlined above in Paragraph No. 4, students will be encouraged to attend the school nearest them, but parental and student discretion will be allowed in selecting the school which the student will attend.

Hayes Mizell of the South Carolina Community Relations Program, American Friends Service Committee, in his monthly newsletter *Schools* said about point 7:

"This is truly unbelievable! This gigantic loophole is nothing more than a provision for FREEDOM OF CHOICE! No wonder the plan has contained no specific mention of approximately how many black and white students would attend each school. Parental and student discretion will almost surely result in individual schools with almost all-white and all-black student bodies. We surely hope that the court will not accept this ruse." *(Your Schools,* Dec., 1969)

The justice department, as the plaintiff in the case, responded to the plan at a hearing this spring before Judge Simons.

In an order issued on March 28, 1970, the judge rejected the school board's plan and ordered the district to implement a zoning-pairing plan drawn by HEW and presented to the court by the justice department, to become effective in September.

According to *The* (Columbia) *State* of April 3, Judge Simons said, "Even though this court may wish to be able to approve a continuation of the defendant district's schools some truly free and unfettered freedom-of-choice plan it has absolutely no discretion to do so. . ."

Apparently the failure of freedom of choice in the past to eliminate the dual system and the *Alexander* decision of the previous October prevented the judge's exercising any "discretion" in the case. Under the HEW plan ordered by the court, A-F High will house all students in grades 9-12 with portables being used to handle any overflow of students. Grades 4-8 will go to formerly all-black C. V. Bing and C. B. Byrd schools, while the youngest children will be assigned to Allendale and Fairfax Elementary schools, both of which are predominantly white this year.

Faculty and staff assignments are to be made on an integrated basis, and all transportation is to be desegregated. Simons said the plan calling for the students to attend the school nearest their homes may result in a situation that "will adversely affect the quality of education provided the children in the district." Simons recognized that "white students will likely withdraw in large numbers from the public schools, but that couldn't be considered in determining the desegregation plan."

* * *

"To the casual observer very little desegregation has occurred numerically in the Allendale County School System; however, much progress in integration has been made in the schools and community in a relatively short time." So says the school board in its introduction to the "proposed program" of desegregation for 1968-69 presented to the federal District Court. Since the statement is unsupported, it is difficult to determine what is meant by the school board by the statement "much progress in integration," insofar as the larger community is concerned. While many people say that relations between the races are good, three people interviewed shed light specifically on the "progress in integration."

James Brandt owns the Topmost Guernsey Farm in Ulmers, S. C., eight miles northeast of Allendale, the county seat. Brandt is the only resident legislator in the county. He has appointive power over the school board, the draft board, and the election commission, among others. He also approves the budget for several county operations including the schools.

Brandt talked from notes that he had prepared in advance about things that he thought would be of interest. There were things that had happened in Allendale County in the three years since his election that he wanted known.

Item: His predecessor refused to keep the voter registration books open the legal hours, but he changed that. Picking up on an idea from Columbia, he enabled people to register to vote in front of supermarkets. Furthermore, he appointed the first Negro member and deputy member to the Board of Registration.

Item: The Welfare Board had only white members; he increased the board size from three to five and appointed two "colored" members. He has also obtained approval from the State Welfare Department to add a Negro welfare caseworker.

Item: He placed the County Board of Directors (the county governing body) back on an elected basis. His predecessor had made it appointive. When a vacancy occurred on the Board of Directors, which he could fill by appointment in the interim before the next election, he recommended a Negro to the position.

Item: He increased the size of the Board of Education from six to nine, removed the old members, and appointed a completely new board, which included three Negroes, the first in the county's history. He said that he kept the Board of Education on an appointive basis to keep "the illiterates and racists" off.

Item: He increased the Selective Service Board from three to five members and hopes to appoint two Negroes to the positions.

Thus, there is more "integration" on these boards than in any other phase of public or private life in Allendale County, with the possible exception of the small factories.

F. E. "Tubby" Gibson, a former mayor of Allendale, presently heads the Allendale County Development Board and sells real estate and insurance. He's concerned about Allendale County economically. He feels that the problems of jobs and money outweigh any caused by race. His son is working for a bank in Columbia because he couldn't make enough to support his family adequately in Allendale. In 1956 there were 450 manufacturing jobs in the county. Now there are 1,170.

In 1960-64 a few plants started coming in; now they're expanding.

Gibson estimates that one-half of all manufacturing jobs are held by Negroes. Now that it is possible to find this type of work, some younger Negroes and whites are staying in the area. Two hundred local people work at the Savannah River Project in Aiken County, the largest nuclear power operation in the country. One Negro who works there is George Thompson. Gibson said that it was Thompson whom several white leaders decided upon as being worthy of their support for a seat on the six-member Allendale city council. They got at least 100 whites to vote for him. The group was astounded and a bit upset when Thompson lost because the entire Negro community did not support him.

Thompson ran once before as a test to see if Negroes would get out and vote. They did, but not in sufficient numbers to elect him since the black registration was low. With an increase in registration, Thompson and two other local Negroes decided to run in the next go-round. They urged black voters to support themselves and three whites for the council seats. Gibson claims that enough blacks went to the poles to elect Thompson, especially given the white support for Thompson.

Thompson, when asked why he lost, said he was not certain, but added, "Some people can be bought for a dollar." He feels that another problem is the lack of emphasis on the importance of electoral politics in the home.

James Sanders, a black man, is regarded by most whites and some Negroes as a troublemaker. Until a few months ago he was president of the local NAACP. Several summers ago two task force workers from the NAACP, a white boy and girl, came to Allendale to work on voter registration and other problems. When Sanders housed them, he got calls from whites who ordered him to get them out or have his house burned down. He told them it was his house, that he paid his taxes, that "I'm not going anywhere," and that the youngsters would stay. There was no further trouble concerning his home.

However, he did suffer economically. He and his wife own a small liquor store, which Mrs. Sanders runs. Before the task force workers came to stay with him he did masonry and carpentry sub-contracting for three white construction companies. After he refused to put the students out, his store business decreased by 85 per cent and he was cut-off by the white contractors. He says the whites got his Negro trade to boycott him. But he has kept the store, and business has slowly built back up. He now does independent construction work on his own and claims he's making out all right.

Sanders feels that "tremendous progress" is being made in race relations, in spite of the fact that there are "hell cats" on both sides. Additionally, he believes that some whites "got to the weak-minded Negroes" and told them to get rid of him as the NAACP president. George Thompson, the NAACP vice-president, has been the only officer who has supported him in recent months. Other members were on his side, but they didn't come to meetings. Two months after his re-election without opposition the complaints started again, and he resigned. He says that some members wanted marching, pickets and boycotts. He told them "you don't do this, until you can't do anything else."

After his resignation, George Jefferson was elected president. Sanders doesn't feel that Jefferson will be able to do anything in the job since he is a public school teacher. (Jefferson is also ex-president of the all-Negro Allendale Teachers Association, now merged with the white teachers' group.)

Sanders commented on the educational issues that now face the black community: (1) Only one of three Negro school board members reports back to his community on education developments, (2) all students are being tested "to separate them into different categories," which he suspects is designed to maintain segregation, (3) the school administration claims that there are no white teachers with C certificates. He believes that there are whites with C's and that they will be assigned to teach at Bing with the Negroes with C certificates, while Negroes with A and B scores will be placed at Allendale-Fairfax High to teach the advanced black students and the whites.

The school board at first said that all teachers with C certificates would not be rehired next year. However, recently an agreement was reached between the nine black "C" teachers and the board allowing them to remain at their jobs for another year, "contingent upon their attendance at summer schools, six hours of extension courses, and taking the NTE [National Teachers Examination] in July of 1970 and February of 1971, and obtaining a grade of A or B."

Over 70 per cent of the school children in Allendale County are black. As is the case in most Black-Belt counties, the educational problems of these students are enormous and defy easy solutions. In 1960 34.1 per cent of the population 25 or older had completed less than five years of school, while 26.4 per cent completed high school or more. In this same year 60.1 per cent of the families had incomes under $3,000. While the median income and the average number of years in school increased between 1950 and 1960, it is considered likely that the increase would have been greater had compulsory school attendance been in effect.

With the advances made in the quality of the education provided, the administrators of the school district say that 50 per cent of the black children entering the first grade each year need 7-9 months of experience with non-printed matter before the teachers can even begin working with them on learning to read. As these children "advance" in school, the majority will fall three to four grade levels behind the white students. Although 70 to 80 per cent of the white students go on to some form of higher education, less than 10 per cent of the black children do. As a black child approaches high school age, the chances of his dropping out entirely are much greater than is the case with white students. A local branch of the University of South Carolina has no black students because none has passed the entrance requirements.

"Social promotion" has been practiced for years in Allendale County. One reading teacher was worried about a high-school-age youth who wore dark glasses, sat at the back of the room and never said anything as she attempted to work with his group of students on reading problems. One day she came home and started crying when her husband asked how the day had gone. She told him that the youth had come up to her, removed his glasses and said that he didn't mind telling her now that he did not know how to read and that he wanted to learn. She was not certain whether she cried for joy, relief, or sorrow. Some children, according to one teacher, just come to school to get a hot meal. Of the 3,000 students in the system, 1,547 receive a free or reduced price lunch. Only 20 of these are white children.

Through Titles, I, II, and III of ESEA, some strides are being made to cope with the severe and deep-rooted educational problems. People differ on how great these strides are and on what the reasons are for their adequacy or inadequacy. Some people in Columbia blame the local administration for a lack of imagination and for doing an average job where much more is called for. They say there are some programs which "border on compensatory," but do not begin to get at the root of the difficulties.

The local administration, on the other hand, blames state officials for being uninterested in the problems of a small county like Allendale. Henry White says that Williamsburg County has been "adopted by the state" administration as a pilot project for a comprehensive attack on educational inadequacies and complains that the state department has turned down several of his proposals.

One possible reason for the cynicism of the state people may be the priorities of the local administrators. One teacher related that he found much concern for cleanliness and a new coat of paint in his school and little concern for the fact that children were weeks late in receiving their books while books remained in storage in the building. He said that the most advanced student in his class at least two years behind the national norm for the grade he was in.

Teachers also come in for criticism: "Some of the teachers in my school are much more concerned about the appearance of their bulletin boards than about what their children have done; many of these teachers have, apparently, long since given up any desire they may ever have had to educate and have settled down to try to satisfy the administrators' penchant for order, cleanliness, and discipline; furthermore, these teachers "do not push to get things like books, equipment and supplies for their students."

White parents expressed concern about these educational personnel problems. While some object to total pupil desegregation, particularly those with daughters, more are worried about faculty merger.

Early this year, the PTA in Fairfax asked Henry White to speak to parents and other concerned citizens about the possibility that the court would order complete school desegregation beginning next fall. After that meeting, a group of 150 white parents called for a discussion of ways of reorganizing the Allendale Academy. The private academy, after three years of operation, did not reopen for the fall, 1969, term. A recent edition of the Allendale County *Citizen* told of the progress toward reorganization and announced procedures for and costs to a family wishing to enroll its children in the school. After pledging an initial membership fee of $125-$150, depending on when the fee is paid, the tuition-per-child will be $400 a year. The academy will offer "a full twelve-grade program." While responses to the federal court order for complete merger vary rather widely in the county, even those who support the academy movement have different ideas concerning the possibility of success.

Students at predominantly white Allendale-Fairfax High School say that many "students don't like" the thought of the merger even though there has been no trouble this year and they "get along fine with the Negroes" in the school. They also report that black students at A-F High "think they're better than those at Bing." In the past there have usually been three or four juniors who accelerate their schedules in order to graduate a year early. The students say there are "about 17" who have accelerated this year, and that most of them have done so in order to "avoid integration."

Henry Spann Laffitte is the vice president of the bank in Allendale which is run by his father, Charles Laffitte. He and his wife have no children, but, if they did, he "wouldn't send them to public school" in the county, though this has "nothing to do with integration." He doubts that the private academy will be a success since they "couldn't even get a chamber of commerce organized in Allendale." If he was to be quoted concerning his feelings about education and politics, he was anxious to have it known that all public officials be "limited to one three-year term, including the Supreme Court, to avoid graft and corruption." In response to a question about demonstrations in Allendale, he said, "I'd be marching right now if I were born black."

Dr. R. E. "Reb" Boyles, an optometrist and mayor of Allendale, said that "I don't see how they can afford to send their children to the private school given the per capita income in the county." This judgment is based on the failure in the first attempt to maintain a private school because of "a lack of students and lack of funds." His son in the fifth grade "has a nigger teacher," and there has been no problem. He doesn't plan at this time to send his son to the private school, but he "might change his mind." His attitude is to "wait and see if the administration is able to get qualified Negro and white teachers" for next year.

The Rev. Henry M. Thomson, pastor of the First Methodist Church, was "glad to see the private school fold," because it is "no solution" to the problems of race, though he is "not opposed to private schools if they are open to all. Some people sent their children at first and then returned to public school. Now that they've seen integration it has helped people to see more" of what is necessary to solve the problem.

Mrs. Marian Preacher, a widow, is a member of the city council and a professor of sociology at the University of South Carolina Extension in Allendale. The Rev. Henry Thomson said that Mrs. Preacher has been "branded an extreme liberal by some" because of her views on race. She is given credit for organizing the biracial group in Allendale, which some prefer to call the "Community Betterment Committee." Her husband, Dr. A. B. Preacher, was one of the owners of the building used by the Allendale Academy. Mrs. Preacher contributed some money for a scholarship when the Academy was in operation, but she said "I wouldn't send my daughter to one of these overnight schools." On the other hand, she would "hate to have her held back in a totally integrated school," but the whites are "to blame that Negroes are slow learners and so far behind."

She pointed out that many "Negroes showed so much interest in the Community and wanted to help organize the Chamber of Commerce, but the whites never thought of an integrated Chamber." In response to a question about reports that the mayor had refused to appear before the biracial committee to help with information, Mrs. Preacher said that she had invited him twice and that he "had failed to come."

Another biracial group in the district is the Allendale Community Federal Credit Union. About 35 people attended its annual shareholders meeting in late January in the county courtroom. The board, which sat inside the bar, was composed of three whites and five blacks. James Sanders' brother, Tommy, explained to the shareholders in the spectator section, all of whom were black, that "this is *our* thing. It's not no one person's." George Thompson, chairman of the board, gave a brief account of the history of the credit union.

Beekman Winthrop (of Groton Plantation and New York City) gave the biracial Community Betterment Committee $5,000 to use as it saw fit. The committee turned the money over to the group, which wanted to set up the credit union. Then Winthrop, who works for the Center for Community Change in New York, gave the credit union another $1,000 for operating expenses.

Ephraim Ulmer, recent Citadel graduate, part-time history teacher at A-F High, and heir to one of the largest fortunes in the county, is a member of the credit union board. Tom Cordray, a young man in the feed and seed business, and Mrs. T. O. Lawton, a school board and biracial committee member, are the other two white members present at the meeting. Thompson, Cordray, Ulmer, and Charlie Cave sat around a table and talked about race relations in the district after the meeting. Cave, an undertaker and used-car dealer, is one of the three black school board members. Ulmer commented that "forced desegregation concerns me." While "there's always some opposition from whites, it's just as bad for it to be forced on the black population of the community unless they want it." He feels that "as long as steady progress is being made, it's better to take a couple more years to end the dual system."

Thompson said that "some Negroes are opposed" because "they feel it's a disgrace to go to school with whites. Persons feel less free and that they can't be at their best in that situation." Cave said that things "could have moved better if the previous school board had taken more leadership. If the present steps had been taken earlier, we would not have needed this (court) order." Thompson added that "getting the parents (to accept the order) is the big problem, and the problem with the faculties is second."

Ephraim Ulmer commented on the effects of the abolition of the compulsory attendance law, then being considered in the legislature: "If the law is abolished, there would be white and black who wouldn't go. Keeping some students on a regular basis is a problem now. I have two students, one white and one black, who attend less than half the time. Both are from the lowest income categories." The district has implemented the state's attendance law. However, according to Henry White, it is almost impossible to enforce since there is no juvenile court in the county. James Brandt says the county is too small and too poor to get enabling legislation for a juvenile court through the legislature.

Thomas O. Lawton, Jr. is the highly regarded chairman of the state's Tricentennial Commission. A lawyer whose family has lived in the county for generations, he practiced with Robert E. McNair until the latter was elected governor. Described by one observer in Columbia as the other member, with banker Charles Laffitte, of the "Allendale Mafia," he is believed by an ex-politician in the county to be popular enough to defeat Rep. James Brandt easily if he were only interested in elective office. Lawton, asked if whites might not support public education financially if schools are totally merged, responded, "I would say there's a *probability* of no support." He expects a "mass exodus of whites from the schools." The reason being that "it's a social class problem rather than a race problem, which will take a while to overcome." How long? "At least 10 years. A lot of colored don't want integration, and the colored class system is more structured than the whites'." Will he send his children to private school? "I don't know; I'm not panicking, I've always been a supporter of public schools." He observed that "it will be impossible to organize a full 12 grades in such a way as to be of any educational significance" in the county, though a school with grades 1-7 "might make it." On the other hand, if "several counties get together and organize," then something might be possible.

The observation was made that over the last 10 years there have been very little race news and few disturbances in South Carolina compared with Mississippi and Alabama. Lawton commented that many of the younger sons of South Carolina, cut off from inheritance because of the practice of primogeniture, had settled the newer lands of the Old South, but that the basic reason for the difference between these states and the older coastal South was that "South Carolina has known who it was for a longer period of time." Do the whites who have been in the leadership over these years feel any responsibility for the situation they now find themselves in? "People accept this leadership as a responsibility, but there's no guilt complex prevalent."

Statistical Appendix

by Glenda Watters

Explanatory Notes—Table I

Table I gives population, voter registration, economic and general educational data for the majority-black school districts covered by this survey. For purposes of locating the districts geographically and comparing them with the area immediately surrounding them, the same data was provided for counties in which the districts are found.

Several counties that had majority-black populations in 1960 do not now have majority-black school populations, according to 1969-70 school enrollment figures. These counties were omitted from the table. (One such county, DeSoto, Miss., had a population of 23,891, which was 61.3% black in 1960, yet it did not as of 1969 have as many black children in school as white. This may be an indication of the results of the absence of a state compulsory attendance law. Or the superintendent's estimate that there were "200 Negro children 'not in school'" may have been rather casual. Or it may simply reflect the vast migration from the Delta.) For other counties, such as Tensas, La., which was 65 per cent black in 1960, school enrollment data was not available. These counties were omitted from the table.

Although the black population is larger than the white in most of the counties listed, in only three—Taliaferro, Ga.; Lafayette, Miss.; and Beaufort, S. C.—is the percentage of black age-eligible voters registered greater than the percentage of eligible-age whites. In Texas, for which county-by-county voter registration figures are not available, the statewide black voter registration percentage is higher than the white. This is due to the fact that in Texas the large Mexican-American population is counted as "white" and disfranchisement of that group accounts for the low "white" registration percentage. In counties with large black populations, in the Deep South especially, the percentage of white age-eligibles registered runs generally higher than the state average. Black voter registration percentages in these counties are erratic, due to a number of factors: voter registration organization and activity in the area, the level of white terrorism still persistent, economic and education factors, and the like.

Median income of black families in the counties is generally about half that of white families.

In 53 of the counties listed in Table I, the median educational level of black people is less than fifth grade, meaning that a substantial proportion of these counties' populations is functionally illiterate.

One county, Tunica, Miss., although it is at the bottom of virtually every statistical heap and therefore an extreme example, starkly illustrates the problems confronting areas, especially rural ones, with large black populations. In 1960 Tunica County had a population of 16,826, of which 13,315 (79.1 per cent) were black. There were 2,011 whites eligible to register to vote in 1968; 2,122 (100 per cent plus) were registered. There were 5,822 blacks eligible to register in 1968; 2,179 (37.4 per cent) were registered. Median family income in 1959 (the most recent year for which figures and rankings are available), $1,260, ranked it poorest in the nation in that category. Median income for black families was $922. Of its 2,575 black families, 2,404 earned less than $3,000 a year; 1,396 earned less than $1,000. One hundred twenty-eight families in the county earned over $10,000; four of these families were black. (According to Senate hearings before the Committee on Appropriations, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1969, pp. 612-614, the number of people in Tunica County receiving agricultural subsidies of over $5,000 was exactly 124.) In 1960, median school years completed for the total population was 5.2; for blacks the median was 4.0. Of the 16,826 persons in Tunica County, 439 were high school graduates; 66 of those persons were black.

Explanatory Notes—Table II

This survey analyzes 295 majority-black school districts in the 11 Southern states. There are probably as many as 40 others in the South, but districts for which school enrollment figures were not available were omitted from the survey. By state, RRIC found that at least 14 Alabama school districts are majority-black, 37 in Arkansas, three in Florida, 53 in Georgia, 17 in Louisiana, 55 in Mississippi, 27 in North Carolina, 36 in South Carolina, four in Tennessee, 24 in Texas, and 25 in Virginia. Texas has eight 100 per-cent-black districts, and Georgia and Virginia have one each.

The number of schools in each district represents the number reported (by way of the 102 forms) to HEW. There are discrepancies in a few districts (such as Claiborne Parish, La., which failed to report to HEW the two schools it operates in Junction City, Ark.), but in virtually all districts the number of schools reported checks with the number listed in state school directories.

Enrollment figures represent all children enrolled, whether they are residents of the district or not. Mississippi districts have rather lax residence requirements, and a somewhat casual attitude toward individual schools within a district. For example, Chicasaw County gave one of its schools (all-black) to the city of Houston and did not bother to report the gift to the federal government. Chicasaw is no longer a majority-black district. In Texas, there are several instances of small towns carving out two miniscule school districts, one all-white, the other all-black. Patterns of housing desegregation necessitate each district's enrolling some children who are not residents.

Figures indicating the number of schools desegregated reflect only student desegregation. Particularly in the peripheral South, some districts, with far greater percentages of white teachers than white children, have sizeable numbers of white teachers in all-black or mostly-black schools, but a school is not counted in this survey as desegregated unless the students in it are.

The sections indicating the number of black children in white schools and the number of whites in black schools reflect students only. The number of whites in formerly all-black schools is so small in most instances that a section indicating the percentage of white enrollment so situated was omitted. There are a few instances of real integration—of all schools in the district reflecting fairly accurately the racial population of the district as a whole—particularly in North Carolina. In other states, Texas and Arkansas for the most part, there are small school districts that have completely integrated their school populations. In districts such as Atlanta and New Orleans, a large number of whites in schools with majority-black enrollments indicates resegregation of the schools, rather than that the district is moving toward a unitary school system.

Only classroom teachers were counted for the "Faculty" section of Table II. The method used to determine "Blacks in Minority Situations" and "Whites in Minority Situations" was necessarily subjective. A racial group was counted in the minority only if they were in a minority of the faculty. As was mentioned earlier, districts in the peripheral South have substantial numbers of white teachers in majority-black schools; districts in the Deep South have far less faculty integration generally and far fewer white teachers in "minority situations," but they also have more nearly the ratio of black teachers to black student enrollment. In almost every district surveyed the percentage of black teachers did not equal the percentage of black students enrolled in school. In all parts of the South, in almost every district whose 102 forms were examined, the pupil-teacher ratios of black children were significantly higher than that of whites. For example, the Robert R. Moton Elementary School in New Orleans has 131 black kindergartners and two kindergarten teachers.

Districts not under court order are for the most part operating under "441-B"—a designation indicating past condition of legal segregation, but voluntary compliance with HEW's requirements under the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Some few districts, mostly in Texas are "441"—indicating no past condition of legal segregation and the current condition of operating a unitary school system. One of these districts is 100 per cent black.

Federal aid is crucial to most districts in the South, majority-black ones probably more than others. They obviously defy conventional desegregation methods—absorption of black students into formerly all-white schools, and the districts surveyed have for the most part been left alone. Fewer than 25 of the 295 had had their federal funds terminated at the time this survey was completed; only seven had had funds held in abeyance ("deferred"). In the "Federal Aid Status" section of Table II, several abbreviations of words were used to describe each district's status:

If left blank, the district is receiving its federal monies.

"Ref."—The district has been referred by the HEW regional office to HEW in Washington, but no action beyond that has yet been taken.

"Term."—The district's funds have been terminated.

"Def."—The district's funds have been deferred.

"Acc."—The district's plan has been accepted by the agency responsible, either the court or HEW.

"RTJ"—The district has been referred by HEW to the Department of Justice.

"App."—The district has been found to be not in compliance by HEW in Washington, and is appealing.

TABLE I

ALABAMA

District	Total Population	Black % of Total	White Voting-age Pop.	Black Voting-age Pop.	White Regis.	Black Regis.	%White Regis.	%Black Regis.	Total Family Income Median	Black Family Income Median	Median School Years Completed	
											Total	Black
BARBOUR	24,700	43.1	7,338	5,787	10,540	3,830	100+	66.1	$2,174	$1,155	7.5	4.7
BULLOCK	13,462	71.9	2,387	4,450	3,583	3,203	100+	71.9	1,557	901	7.0	5.2
BUTLER	24,560	44.7	8,363	4,820	8,359	1,898	99.9	39.3	2,392	1,345	7.9	5.2
CHAMBERS	37,828	36.7	15,369	6,497	12,557	1,610	81.7	24.7	4,033	1,726	8.6	5.4
CLARKE	25,738	49.5	7,899	5,833	10,936	2,737	100+	46.9	2,766	1,683	8.8	5.9
CONECUH	17,762	45.5	5,907	3,635	5,917	2,122	100+	58.3	2,124	1,243	7.8	5.9
DALLAS	56,667	57.7	14,400	15,115	13,848	10,859	96.2	71.8	2,846	1,393	8.7	5.8
GREENE	13,600	81.3	1,649	5,001	2,102	3,988	100+	79.7	1,404	971	6.0	5.0
LINDEN	2,516	36.7	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	4,140	NA	10.2	NA
Marengo	27,098	62.1	6,104	7,791	7,637	5,855	100+	75.2	2,227	1,214	7.9	5.3
MARENGO	27,098	62.1	6,104	7,791	7,637	5,855	100+	75.2	2,227	1,214	7.9	5.3
MONROE	22,372	50.7	6,631	4,894	8,577	2,577	100+	52.6	2,481	1,425	7.9	5.4
PICKENS	21,882	44.7	7,336	4,373	7,698	1,769	100 +	40.5	2,548	1,270	8.4	5.3
PIKE	25,987	41.3	9,126	5,259	12,268	3,467	100 +	65.9	2,342	1,390	8.1	5.1
RUSSELL	46,351	49.6	13,761	10,531	13,476	4,292	97.9	40.8	3,325	2,100	7.2	4.7
The State	3,266,740	30.1	1,353,058	481,320	1,117,000*	273,000*	82.5	56.7	3,937	2,009	9.1	6.5

TABLE II

ALABAMA

Districts	No. of Sch.	Enrollment			Desegregation				Faculty				Type of Comp. Plan	Fed. Aid Status
		Total	Black	% Black	No. Sch. Des.	Blacks in Wht. Schools	% Blacks Deseg.	Whites in Blk. Schools	Total	Black	Blacks in Min. Sit.	Wht. in Min. Sit.		
BARBOUR	8	3,284	2,325	70.8	4	196	8.4	110	152	84	12	17	C.O.	
BULLOCK	6	3,523	2,766	78.5	2	170	6.1	0	154	102	16	26	C.O.	
BUTLER	10	5,412	2,814	52.0	5	303	10.8	279	266	118	22	13	C.O	
CHAMBERS	17	6,816	3,420	50.2	9	517	15.1	0	296	118	22	26	C.O	
CLARKE	12	6,176	3,456	56.0	4	340	9.8	0	243	127	12	6	C.O	
CONECUH	10	4,089	2,274	55.6	5	447	19.7	0	190	93	18	3	C.O	
DALLAS	15	7,683	5,361	69.8	3	1,112	20.7	0	363	226	56	41	C.O.	
GREENE	6	3,410	2,973	87.2	2	115	3.9	0	179	150	2	19	C.O.	
LINDEN	4	1,451	731	50.4	1	3	0.4	0	67	29	4	8	C.O.	
MARENGO	11	3,786	3,050	80.6	2	179	5.9	0	182	132	6	9	C.O.	
MONROE	13	5,934	3,495	58.9	6	625	17.9	3	275	143	32	16	C.O.	
PICKENS	9	5,501	2,933	53.3	4	472	16.1	0	231	98	11	14	C.O.	
PIKE	9	3,399	1,849	54.4	6	305	16.5	4	159	74	16	11	C.O.	
RUSSELL	10	5,146	3,626	70.5	4	461	12.7	0	(No Faculty Figures)					

TABLE I

ARKANSAS

District	Total Population	Black % of Total	White* Voting-age Pop.	Black* Voting-age Pop.	White* Regis.	Black* Regis.	%White* Regis.	%Black* Regis.	Total Family Income Median	Black Family Income Median	Median School Years Completed	
											Total	Black
AMOREL #9												
Mississippi	70,174	29.7							$2,725	$1,398	8.0	5.0
ARKANSAS CITY												
Desha	20,770	48.1							2,430	1,257	7.8	4.9
BRADLEY #20												
Lafayette	11,030	45.1							2,245	1,189	8.4	5.2
CAMDEN #35	15,823	38.4							3,899	1,659	10.0	7.6
Ohachita	31,641	38.5							3,686	1,718	9.4	7.2
COTTON PLANT #1	1,704	57.0										
Woodruff	13,954	41.2							1,902	1,281	7.8	6.2
CRAWFORDSVILLE #2												
Crittenden	47,564	59.1							2,506	1,422	7.4	5.0
DESHA-DREW												
Desha	20,770	48.1							2,430	1,257	7.8	4.9
DUMAS	3,540	52.5							2,863		8.5	
Desha	(See Above)											
DOLLARWAY #2												
Jefferson	81,373	43.6							3,671	1,727	9.1	6.5
EARLE	2,391	60.8										
Crittenden	(See Above)											
EMERSON #66												
Columbia	26,400	36.0							3,438	1,637	9.2	6.4
EUDORA	3,598	73.8							1,706		8.0	
Chicot	18,990	56.9							2,013	1,387	7.6	5.7

ARKANSAS

TABLE I (Continued)

District	Total Population	Black % of Total	White* Voting-age Pop.	Black* Voting-age Pop.	White* Regis.	Black* Regis.	%White* Regis.	%Black* Regis.	Total Family Income Median	Black Family Income Median	Median School Years Completed Total	Median School Years Completed Black
GARLAND #4	25,048	22.1										
Miller	31,686	25.7							3,372	1,784	9.1	6.9
GRADY #5												
Lincoln	14,447	48.6							1,911	990	7.9	5.9
HOLLY GROVE #7												
Monroe	17,327	48.7							2,162	1,199	7.6	6.2
HUGHES #27	1,960	56.0										
St. Francis	33,303	57.0							1,973	1,265	7.6	5.8
HUTTIG #60												
Union	49,518	30.4							4,361	2,065	10.3	6.6
LAKESIDE												
Chicot	18,990	56.9							2,013	1,387	7.6	5.7
LEWISVILLE #1	1,373	46.7										
Lafayette	11,030	45.1							2,245	1,189	8.4	5.2
LINWOOD #17												
Jefferson	81,373	43.6							3,671	1,727	9.1	6.5
MARIANNA #A	5,134	53.0							2,831		8.4	
Lee	21,001	61.1							1,710	1,127	6.7	5.7
MARVELL #22	1,690	36.2										
Phillips	43,977	57.8							2,360	1,370	7.5	5.4
MT. HOLLY #10												
Union	(See Above)											
OKOLONA #73												
Clark	20,950	25.9							3,127	1,903	9.2	7.5

TABLE I (Continued)

ARKANSAS

District	Total Population	Black % of Total	White * Voting-age Pop.	Black * Voting-age Pop.	White* Regis.	Black * Regis.	%White* Regis.	%Black * Regis.	Total Family Income Median	Black Family Income Median	Median School Years Completed	
											Total	Black
PARKIN	1,489	33.6										
Cross	19,551	30.2							2,480	1,482	7.8	5.4
PLUM BAYOU-TUCKER	3,602	63.6										
Jefferson	81,373	43.6							3,671	1,727	9.1	6.5
SELMA #14												
Drew	15,213	33.9							2,614	1,457	8.4	6.3
SHERRILL #4												
Jefferson	(See Above)											
SPARKMAN #4												
Dallas	10,522	39.8							2,809	2,173	8.3	7.3
STEPHENS #13	1,275	24.9										
Ouachita	31,641	38.5							3,686	1,718	9.4	7.2
THORNTON #26												
Calhoun	14,029	35.1							2,394	1,662	8.6	6.4
TURRELL #5												
Crittenden	47,564	59.1							2,506	1,422	7.4	5.0
WABBASEKA #7												
Jefferson	(See Above)											
WASHINGTON												
Hempstead	19,661	37.3							2,676	1,354	9.1	7.3
WHEATLEY #28	812	40.1										
St. Francis	33,303	57.0							1,973	1,265	10.3	6.6
WILMAR												
Drew	(See Above)											

TABLE I (Continued)

ARKANSAS

District	Total Population	Black % of Total	White* Voting-age Pop.	Black* Voting-age Pop.	White* Regis.	Black* Regis.	%White* Regis.	%Black* Regis.	Total Family Income Median	Black Family Income Median	Median School Years Completed	
											Total	Black
WILMOT	2,143	65.1										
Ashley	24,220	36.7							3,432	1,543	8.8	6.0
The State	1,786,272	21.9	850,643	192,626	640,000	130,000	75.2	67.5	2,629	1,305	8.9	6.5

*County-by-County voter registration figures are not available. State figures are 1968 estimates.

Many of the districts in Arkansas are so small as to negate any value of figures on population, income and education that are available for the area. Therefore, the districts in this table should be used only to identify the county in which the district is located.

TABLE II

Districts	No. of Sch.	Enrollment			Desegregation				Faculty				Type of Comp. Plan	Fed. Aid Status
		Total	Black	% Black	No. Sch. Des.	Blacks in Wht. Schools	% Blacks Deseg.	Whites in Blk. Schools	Total	Black	Blacks in Min. Sit.	Wht. in Min. Sit.		
AMOREL #9	1	454	229	50.4	1		225	21	4	4			441-B	RTJ
ARKANSAS CITY	2	137	78	56.9	0				8	3	1		441-B	RTJ
BRADLEY #20	4	823	473	57.4	2	3	.6		42	23			441-B	RTJ
CAMDEN #35	8	2,919	1,552	53.1	4	272	17.5		124	51	7	9	441-B	RTJ
COTTON-PLANT #1	2	910	665	73.1	1	30	4.5		54	34	1		441-B	RTJ
CRAWFORDSVILLE #2	2	1,224	1,056	86.3	1	79	7.5		56	37	2	4	C.O.	

ARKANSAS

TABLE II (Continued)

Districts	No. of Sch.	Enrollment			Desegregation				Faculty				Type of Comp. Plan	Fed. Aid Status
		Total	Black	% Black	No. Sch. Des.	Blacks in Wht. Schools	% Blacks Deseg.	Whites in Blk. Schools	Total	Black	Blacks in Min. Sit.	Wht. in Min. Sit.		
DESHA-DREW	2	371	278	74.9	1	88	31.6		19	9	2	2	441-B	
DUMAS	6	2,685	1,550	57.7	3	114	7.3		107	51	3	8	441-B	
DOLLARWAY #2	4	2,984	1,631	54.6	4	537	32.9	317	126	61	33	6	C.O.	
EARLE	2	1,715	1,149	67.0	1	8	.7		68	39			441-B	
EMERSON #66	1	467	251	53.7	1			216	31	8	8		441-B	
EUDORA	2	1,836	1,157	63.0	1	40	3.4		80	45			441-B	Ref.
GARLAND #4	1	184	138	75.0	1			46	11	6		5	441-B	
GRADY #5	2	854	612	71.7	1	199	32.5		28	13	2	2	C.O.	
HOLLY GROVE #7	2	1,178	855	72.6					53	30			441-B	RTJ
HUGHES #27	2	2,219	1,604	72.3	1	44	2.7		89	47	1	7	441-B	
HUTTIG #60	3	308	162	52.6	1	56	34.6		18	6			441-B	
LAKESIDE	2	1,941	1,111	57.2	1	96	8.6		76	33	3	7	441-B	
LEWISVILLE #1	2	821	437	53.2	1	21	4.8		33	14		4	441-B	
LINWOOD #17	2	306	292	95.4	2			14	15	12		3	441-B	
MARIANNA #A	13	5,789	3,855	66.6	6	420	10.9		240	144	16	9	441-B	
MARVELL #2	4	2,052	1,542	75.1	3	207	13.4	37	75	39		5	C.O.	
MT. HOLLY #10	2	346	187	54.0	1	36	19.2		23	10		1	441-B	
OKOLONA #73	1	194	173	89.2	1			21	17	8	8		441-B	
PARKIN	2	1,281	781	61.0	2	67	8.6		60	29	1	3	441-B	

ARKANSAS

TABLE II (Continued)

Districts	No. of Sch.	Enrollment			Desegregation				Faculty				Type of Comp. Plan	Fed. Aid Status
		Total	Black	% Black	No. Sch. Des.	Blacks in Wht. Schools	% Blacks Deseg.	Whites in Blk. Schools	Total	Black	Blacks in Min. Sit.	Wht. in Min. Sit.		
PLUM BAYOU-TUCKER	1	289	231	79.9	1			58	17	6	6		441-B	
SELMA #14	1	209	134	64.1	1			75	9	1	1		441-B	
SHERRILL #4	2	333	240	72.1	1	46	19.1		17	11	3	1	441-B	
SPARKMAN #4	2	544	288	52.9		183	63.5		25	9	3	1	441-B	
STEPHENS #13	2	693	400	57.7	1	33	8.2		33	14	1	4	441-B	
THORNTON #26	2	502	263	52.4					27	14			441-B	
TURRELL #5	3	936	634	67.7	2	36	5.7	124	44	20	4		441-B	
WABBASEKA #7	3	734	609	83.0	1	62	10.2		42	29			441-B	
WASHINGTON	2	366	347	94.8	1			19	19	15	1	2	441-B	
WHEATLEY #28	1	440	283	64.3	1			165	23	3	3		441-B	
WILMAR	2	364	256	70.3	2			108	20	3	3		441-B	
WILMOT	2	569	427	75.0	1	131	30.7		30	9	2	5	441-B	

TABLE I

FLORIDA

District	Total Population	Black % of Total	White Voting-age Pop.	Black Voting-age Pop.	White Regis.	Black Regis.	%White Regis.	%Black Regis.	Total Family Income Median	Black Family Income Median	Median School Years Completed	
											Total	Black
GADSDEN	41,989	59.4	11,711	12,261	6,655	4,610	56.8	37.6	$2,866	$2,008	7.5	5.1
JEFFERSON	9,543	59.1	2,383	2,600	2,410	1,494	100+	57.5	2,741	1,857	8.0	4.8
MADISON	14,154	47.5	4,380	3,067	4,516	2,072	100+	67.6	2,614	1,829	7.6	4.7
The State	4,951,560	17.9	2,617,438	470,261	2,195,000	292,000	83.8	62.1	4,722	2,798	10.9	7.0

TABLE II

Districts	No. of Sch.	Enrollment			Desegregation				Faculty				Type of Comp. Plan	Fed. Aid Status
		Total	Black	% Black	No. Sch. Des.	Blacks in Wht. Schools	% Blacks Deseg.	Whites in Blk. Schools	Total	Black	Blacks in Min. Sit.	Wht. in Min. Sit.		
GADSDEN	16	10,720	7,748	72.2	6	888	11.4		548	272	22	36	441-B	Def.
JEFFERSON	3	2,896	1,852	63.9	1	126	6.8		140	59	2	24	441-B	Ref.
MADISON	7	3,659	2,042	55.8	5	470	23.0		201	78	3	20	441-B	App.

GEORGIA

TABLE I

District	Total Population	Black % of Total	White Voting-age Pop.	Black Voting-age Pop.	White Regis.	Black Regis.	%White Regis.	%Black Regis.	Total Family Income Median	Black Family Income Median	Median School Years Completed Total	Median School Years Completed Black
AMERICUS	13,472	49.6							$3,689	$1,935	8.9	5.7
Sumter	24,652	52.8	7,730	6,710	8,784	3,218	100+	47.9	2,950	1,598	8.3	5.0
ATLANTA	487,455	38.3							5,029	3,108	10.5	7.9
Fulton	556,326	34.8	247,892	117,049	176,382	73,554	71.2	62.8	5,207	3,076	10.5	7.8
BAKER	4,543	58.9	1,139	1,285	1,626	955	100+	74.3	1,660	1,134	6.7	4.5
BROOKS	15,292	48.8	5,059	3,711	3,668	959	72.5	25.8	2,053	1,390	7.7	4.9
BURKE	2,596	66.4	4,358	6,600	4,460	2,847	100+	43.1	1,855	1,202	6.2	4.2
BUTTS	8,976	46.6	3,195	2,099	4,314	1,011	100+	48.1	3,015	1,867	7.9	5.3
CALHOUN	7,341	65.1	1,654	2,393	1,939	674	100+	28.1	1,913	1,457	7.0	4.5
CLAY	4,551	62.3	1,130	1,441	1,241	608	100+	42.1	1,948	1,212	8.2	5.3
CRAWFORD	5,816	57.8	1,596	1,611	1,629	784	100+	48.7	2,355	1,637	7.0	5.2
CRISP	17,768	42.9	6,451	3,858	6,674	1,984	100+	51.4	2,859	1,497	8.2	4.6
DECATUR COUNTY	25,203	41.6	9,070	5,515	10,605	1,235	100+	22.3	3,020	1,950	8.3	5.2
DECATUR CITY	22,026	14.2							6,668	2,642	12.4	6.6
DeKalb	256,782	8.7	148,167	12,407	139,812	9,412	94.3	75.8	6,873	2,823	12.2	6.7
DOOLY	11,474	52.5	3,581	2,866	3,890	1,656	100+	57.7	1,942	1,290	7.7	4.5
GREENE	11,193	52.5	3,565	2,998	3,585	2,779	100+	92.6	2,715	1,586	7.5	5.4
HANCOCK	9,979	74.8	1,727	3,576	1,852	2,781	100+	77.8	2,146	1,651	6.7	5.6

TABLE I (Continued)

GEORGIA

District	Total Population	Black % of Total	White Voting-age Pop.	Black Voting-age Pop.	White Regis.	Black Regis.	%White Regis.	%Black Regis.	Total Family Income Median	Black Family Income Median	Median School Years Completed	
											Total	Black
HARRIS	11,169	54.7	3,310	3,102	4,139	1,375	100+	44.3	2,843	1,857	7.6	5.1
JASPER	6,135	53.8	1,925	1,705	2,371	900	100+	52.7	2,498	1,674	7.6	5.3
JEFFERSON	17,468	56.6	4,937	4,780	4,524	2,623	91.6	54.9	2,282	1,442	7.4	4.7
JENKINS	9,148	49.7	2,985	2,210	2,663	940	89.2	42.5	2,410	1,206	6.9	4.0
JOHNSON	8,048	33.2	3,455	1,261	3,528	745	100+	59.0	2,905	1,782	7.7	4.7
LAMAR	10,240	39.5	4,078	2,118	4,087	1,153	100+	54.4	4,179	2,143	8.3	6.1
LEE	6,204	62.7	1,427	1,795	1,918	997	100+	55.5	2,434	1,648	6.9	4.0
McINTOSH	6,364	58.0	1,643	1,823	1,680	2,017	100+	100	2,531	1,929	8.1	5.3
MACON	13,170	63.0	3,171	4,077	3,734	1,831	100+	44.9	2,338	1,492	7.3	5.2
MARION	5,477	60.1	1,353	1,609	1,649	296	100+	18.4	2,081	1,585	7.0	5.5
MERIWETHER	19.756	49.8	6,547	4,990	5,971	2,075	91.2	41.5	2,901	1,499	8.2	5.3
MITCHELL	19,652	51.0	6,055	4,971	6,012	1,525	99.2	30.8	2,706	1,794	7.8	4.8
MONROE	10,495	48.4	3,607	2,652	3,724	1,498	100+	56.5	3,296	2,008	8.2	5.7
MORGAN	10,280	47.9	3,415	2,469	1,763	1,176	51.6	47.6	2,667	1,535	7.7	5.1
OGLETHORPE	7,926	44.9	2,964	1,709	3,114	476	100+	27.9	2,494	1,561	7.6	4.8
PEACH	13,846	58.7	3,650	4,562	3,206	1,887	87.8	41.3	3,651	2,400	8.6	5.7
PIKE	7,138	44.8	2,584	1,643	2,698	741	100+	45.1	2,582	1,248	7.3	4.7
PULASKI	8.204	43.4	3,018	1,843	3,436	632	100+	34.2	3,215	1,421	8.1	4.8

TABLE I (Continued)

GEORGIA

District	Total Population	Black % of Total	White Voting-age Pop.	Black Voting-age Pop.	White Regis.	Black Regis.	%White Regis.	%Black Regis.	Total Family Income Median	Black Family Income Median	Median School Years Completed	
											Total	Black
PUTNAM	7,798	54.0	2,297	2,204	2,519	1,012	100+	45.9	3,112	1,702	7.7	5.7
QUITMAN	2,432	64.1	581	707	718	213	100+	30.1	2,000	1,132	6.5	4.6
SCHLEY	3,256	56.5	961	903	1,180	341	100+	37.8	2,096	923	8.6	5.5
SCREVEN	14,919	52.5	4,557	3,729	4,395	2,882	96.4	77.2	2,370	1,525	7.1	4.5
SOCIAL CIRCLE	1,780	36.3										
Walton	20,481	30.0	9,392	3,076	7,049	1,479	75.0	48.1	3,638	2,015	7.9	5.2
STEWART	7,371	70.7	1,465	2,681	1,741	796	100+	29.8	1,979	1,444	7.0	4.9
SUMTER	24,652	52.8	7,730	6,710	8,784	3,218	100+	47.9	2,950	1,598	8.3	5.0
TALBOT	7,127	69.8	1,437	2,507	1,529	686	100+	24.4	2,288	1,732	6.5	5.0
TALIAFERRO	3,370	62.2	917	1,073	1,072	1,192	100+	100	1,795	1,276	7.6	5.1
TAYLOR	8,311	48.3	2,767	2,004	2,901	679	100+	33.9	1,987	1,224	7.4	4.8
TERRELL	12,742	64.4	3,038	4,057	3,465	2,252	100+	55.5	2,057	1,313	7.6	4.5
THOMASVILLE	18,246	43.2							4,034	2,430	8.8	6.0
Thomas	34,319	41.4	13,179	7,644	9,507	3,113	72.1	40.7	3,396	2,159	8.4	5.5
TWIGGS	7,935	60.1	1,969	2,255	1,965	1,041	99.8	46.2	2,880	2,146	6.5	4.9
WARREN	7,360	62.6	1,911	2,224	2,009	1,452	100+	65.3	2,061	1,273	7.0	4.4
WASHINGTON	18,903	57.1	5,375	5,451	5,686	2,311	100+	42.4	2,615	1,687	7.5	4.9
WEBSTER	3,247	63.9	775	975	884	266	100+	27.2	1,612	1,037	6.6	4.7

GEORGIA

TABLE I (Continued)

District	Total Population	Black % of Total	White Voting-age Pop.	Black Voting-age Pop.	White Regis.	Black Regis.	%White Regis.	%Black Regis.	Total Family Income Median	Black Family Income Median	Median School Years Completed Total	Black
WEST POINT	4,610	51.3							3,828		10.0	
Troup	47,189	33.4	20,579	8,577	13.838	2,974	67.2	34.6	3,910	2,019	8.0	5.2
WILKES	10,961	51.3	3,621	3,101	3,736	1,092	100+	35.2	2,791	1,574	8.2	5.3
WILKINSON	9,250[	48.2	3,135	2,279	3,483	1,088	100+	47.7	3,413	2,217	7.6	5.3
WORTH	16,682	48.2	6,324	3,776	5,593	1,038	88.4	27.4	1,991	1,323	7.4	4.5
The State	3,943,116	28.6	1,797,062	612,910	1,524,000	344,000	84.7	56.1	4,208	2,118	9.0	6.1

TABLE II

Districts	No. of Sch.	Enrollment Total	Black	% Black	Desegregation No. Sch. Des.	Blacks in Wht. Schools	% Blacks Deseg.	Whites in Blk. Schools	Faculty Total	Black	Blacks in Min. Sit.	Wht. in Min. Sit.	Type of Comp. Plan	Fed. Aid Status
AMERICUS	6	3,348	1,904	56.9	4	106	5.6	0	152	66		6	S.	Ref.
ATLANTA	153	109,597	70,319	64.2	88	6,644	9.4	2,461	5,039	2,862	258	540	C.O.	G.
BAKER	3	1,078	719	66.6	1	53	7.3	0	56	32		1	S.	G.
BROOKS (2)	9	3,787	2,219	58.6	2	4	.2		154	82			441-B	Term
BURKE	11	5,521	3,909	70.8	4	94	2.4	0	231	144	3	4	S.	G.
BUTTS	4	2,644	1,452	54.9	2	178	12.2	0	110	51	1	1	S.	Ref.

GEORGIA

TABLE II (Continued)

Districts	No. of Sch.	Enrollment			Desegregation				Faculty				Type of Comp. Plan	Fed. Aid Status
		Total	Black	% Black	No. Sch. Des.	Blacks in Wht. Schools	% Blacks Deseg.	Whites in Blk. Schools	Total	Black	Blacks in Min. Sit.	Wht. in Min. Sit.		
CALHOUN (2)	8	2,085	1,409	67.6	4	19	1.3		91	55	1	1	441-B	Term
CLAY	3	1,082	797	73.6	1	25	3.1	0	53	34			S.	Ref.
CRAWFORD	2	1,621	1,066	65.7	1	12	1.1	0	74	45			S.	Ref.
CRISP	8	4,756	2,439	51.2	5	559	22.9	0	214	91	15	3	C.O.	
DECATUR CITY	11	4,122	2,402	58.2	4	778	32.3	104	225	32	7	50	S.	G.
DECATUR CO.	12	5,879	2,952	50.2	5	157	5.3	0	271	128	4		C.O.	G.
DOOLY (2)	7	3,070	1,915	62.4	2	9	.5		132	75			S.	Term
GREENE	6	2,647	1,849	69.8	2	77	4.1	0	122	75		3	441-B	Ref.
HANCOCK	3	2,649	2,391	90.2	1	153	6.3	0	115	91	2	1	S.	Ref.
HARRIS	12	2,940	1,746	59.3	5	115	6.5	0	141	79			S.	G.
JASPER	3	1,537	924	60.1	2	66	7.1	0	70	37			S.	Ref.
JEFFERSON	10	4,774	3,147	65.9	3	116	3.6	0	204	119		1	S.	G.
JENKINS (2)	3	2,493	1,466	58.8	1	2	.07		96	50			441-B	Term
JOHNSON (2)		1,979	992	50.1		47	4.8		78	34			441-B	Term
LAMAR (1)	3	1,890	1,237	65.4	2	30	2.4		76	42		3	S.	Term
LEE (1)	2	2,021	1,180	58.4	1	37	3.1		86	45	1	1	S.	Term

TABLE II (Continued)

GEORGIA

Districts	No. of Sch.	Enrollment			Desegregation				Faculty				Type of Comp. Plan	Fed. Aid Status
		Total	Black	% Black	No. Sch. Des.	Blacks in Wht. Schools	% Blacks Deseg.	Whites in Blk. Schools	Total	Black	Blacks in Min. Sit.	Wht. in Min. Sit.		
MCINTOSH	4	2,123	1,231	57.9	1	34	2.7	0	92	51	4	3	S.	G.
MACON	6	3,590	2,703	75.2	2	149	5.5	0	168	115	5	6	S.	G.
MARION	2	1,641	920	56.1	1	25	2.7	0	71	35			S.	G.
MERIWETHER	11	4,871	2,817	57.8	5	167	5.9	0	220	122	2	3	S.	G.
MITCHELL	7	3,550	2,219	62.5	2	54	2.4	0	160	95	2	4	S.	Def.
MONROE (1)	4	2,748	1,595	58.0	2	23	1.4		108	58			S.	Term
MORGAN (2)	8	2,866	1,585	55.3	3	35	2.2		109	52			S.	Term
OGLETHORPE	3	2,045	1,072	52.4	2	105	9.7	0	85	34	3	10	441-B	Def.G.
PEACH	9	4,360	2,514	57.6	5	171	6.8	3	188	101	9	6	S.	Ref.
PIKE	5	1,741	871	50.0	5	871	100.	232	81	31	24	5	C.O.	G.
PULASKI (1)	2	1,492	762	51.1	1	1	.1		58	31			S.	G.
PUTNAM	4	2,359	1,390	58.9	2	34	2.4	0	107	59			S.	G.
QUITMAN	2	657	453	68.9	1	14	3.1	0	27	16			S.	G.
SCHLEY	3	833	493	59.1	2	24	4.8	0	39	22		1	S.	G.
SCREVEN	8	3,629	2,123	58.5	3	104	4.8	0	157	77	4	9	C.O.	G.
SOCIAL CIRCLE	2	1,058	536	50.7	2	536	100.	181	41	13			C.O.	G.
STEWART	5	2,008	1,516	75.4	2	55	3.6	0	88	57	1	7	C.O.	G.

TABLE II (Continued)

GEORGIA

Districts	No. of Sch.	Enrollment			Desegregation				Faculty				Type of Comp. Plan	Fed. Aid Status
		Total	Black	% Black	No. Sch. Des.	Blacks in Wht. Schools	% Blacks Deseg.	Whites in Blk. Schools	Total	Black	Blacks in Min. Sit.	Wht. in Min. Sit.		
SUMTER (2)	8	2,976	2,004	78.3	2	49	2.4		120	71			S.	Term
TALBOT	4	1,889	1,512	80.0	1	34	2.2	0	73	53		1	441-B	Ref.
TALIAFERRO	2	561	561	100.					21	21			441-B	Ref.
TAYLOR (1)	4	2,100	1,250	59.5					92	54			S.	Term
TERRELL (2)	7	3,139	2,221	70.3	2	14	.6		120	79			S.	Ref.
THOMASVILLE	9	4,734	2,439	51.5	6	788	32.3	349	221	91	18	6	441-B	G.
TWIGGS	7	2,496	1,617	65.4	3	125	7.7	0	114	64	3	1	S.	Ref.
WARREN	3	1,856	1,323	71.2	1	15	1.1	0	87	56		2	S.	G.
WASHINGTON	7	4,960	3,424	69.0	4	44	1.2	0	236	127	1	14	C.O.	App.
WEBSTER	2	663	531	80.1	1(3)	4	.9	0	37	25	1	2	C.O.	G.
WEST POINT	4	1,263	722	57.1	2	22	3.0	0	61	26		7	S.	Ref.
WILKES	5	2,777	1,643	59.1	1	11	.6	0	116	69	4	2	S.	Def.
WILKINSON (2)	6	2,501	1,454	58.1	3	11	.7		105	54			S.	Term
WORTH	11	4,133	2,113	51.1	4	90	4.2	0	190	96	2		S.	App.

S - Statewide suit; formerly 441-B.

(1)- 1968-69 Figures

(2)- 1967-68 Figures

(3)- Includes Schools with fewer than 10 whites. In Atlanta there are 19 such schools.

LOUISIANA

TABLE I

District	Total Population	Black % of Total	White Voting-age Pop.	Black Voting-age Pop.	White Regis.	Black Regis.	%White Regis.	%Black Regis.	Total Family Income Median	Black Family Income Median	Median School Years Completed	
											Total	Black
BIENVILLE	16,726	49.4	5,617	4,077	5,129	2,440	91.3	59.8	$2,586	$1,735	7.9	5.6
CLAIBORNE	19,407	50.3	6,415	5,032	5,265	2,154	82.1	42.8	2,868	1,620	8.5	5.7
DE SOTO	24,248	57.5	6,543	6,753	6,447	5,168	98.5	76.5	2,680	1,672	7.4	4.8
EAST CARROLL	14,433	61.2	2,990	4,183	3,084	3,023	100+	72.3	2,065	1,569	6.6	4.7
EAST FELICIANA	20,198	54.0	7,043	6,081	3,515	2,440	49.9	40.1	2,749	1,760	7.1	5.4
IBERVILLE	29,939	49.0	8,733	7,060	8,597	6,013	98.4	85.2	3,125	1,884	6.2	4.5
MADISON	16,444	64.9	3,334	5,181	3,710	3,815	100+	73.6	2,190	1,585	6.6	4.5
MOREHOUSE	33,709	46.9	10,311	7,208	9,089	2,054	88.1	28.5	3,248	1,663	7.8	5.0
NATCHITOCHES	35,653	43.7	11,328	7,444	11,228	5,301	99.1	71.2	2,382	1,628	7.3	4.4
ORLEANS	627,525	37.4	257,495	125,752	151,824	59,260	59.0	47.1	4,807	2,987	9.0	7.8
POINTE COUPEE	22,488	53.6	6,085	5,273	5,881	4,457	96.6	84.5	2,486	1,548	6.2	3.6
RICHLAND	23,824	44.4	7,601	4,608	6,910	1,170	90.9	25.4	2,286	1,338	7.4	4.4
ST. HELENA	9,162	55.5	2,363	2,082	2,813	2,025	100+	97.3	2,111	1,440	7.6	5.1
ST. JAMES	18,369	49.3	4,892	3,964	5,044	3,297	100+	83.2	3,659	2,125	7.3	4.7
ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST	18,439	51.6	4,982	4,279	5,580	4,031	100+	94.2	4,079	2,440	7.0	4.7
WEST BATON ROUGE	14,796	49.3	3,974	3,502	4,668	2,616	100+	74.7	4,037	1,991	7.5	4.6
WEST FELICIANA	12,395	66.1	2,814	4,553	1,796	2,054	63.8	45.1	2,459	1,539	6.9	5.1
THE STATE	3,257,022	32.1	1,289,216	514,589	1,133,445	304,601	87.9	59.2	4,272	2,238	8.8	6.0

LOUISIANA

TABLE II

Districts	No. of Sch.	Enrollment			Desegregation				Faculty				Type of Comp. Plan	Fed. Aid Status
		Total	Black	% Black	No. Sch. Des.	Blacks in Wht. Schools	% Blacks Deseg.	Whites in Blk. Schools	Total	Black	Blacks in Min. Sit.	Wht. in Min. Sit.		
BIENVILLE	11	4,451	2,563	57.6	6	519	20.2	0	227	116	23	9	C.O.	
CLAIBORNE	10	4,266	2,624	61.5	5	378	14.4	0	215	113	5	7	C.O.	
DE SOTO	12	6,021	3,747	62.2	6	274	7.3	0	279	167	15	7	C.O.	
EAST CARROLL	7	3,725	2,546	68.3	4	311	12.2	0	151	84	10	7	C.O.	
EAST FELICIANA	10	4,220	2,946	69.8	6(3)	88	3.0	5	203	122	4	9	C.O.	
IBERVILLE	15	8,096	5,192	64.1	11	595	11.4	908	386	208	43	41	C.O.	
MADISON (2)	8	4,425	3,260	73.7	3	201	6.2	0	188	121	10	14	C.O.	
MOREHOUSE	24	9,094	4,829	53.1	9(3)	1,065	22.0	322	380	177	50	16	C.O.	
NATCHITOCHES	24	8,734	4,437	50.8	16	887	20.0	0	421	174	23	18	C.O.	
NEW ORLEANS	132	110,854	75,430	68.0	81(3)	6,772	9.0	4,067	4,256	2,329	228	84	C.O.	
POINTE COUPEE	10(1)	4,281	3,657	85.4	4(1)	159		214	228	141	28	9	C.O.	
RICHLAND	11	6,721	3,388	50.4	8	1,189	35.1	36	319	136	52	7	C.O.	
ST. HELENA	9	3,028	2,061	68.1	4	291	14.1	0	163	92	10	5	C.O.	
ST. JAMES	14	5,265	3,184	60.5	14	853	26.8	829	245	136	30	58	C.O.	
ST.JOHN THE BAPTIST	15	6,352	3,836	60.4	9	670	17.5	835	296	148	32	40	C.O.	
WEST BATON ROUGE	7	2,853	2,456	86.1	7			397	161	96		65	C.O.	
WEST FELICIANA	5	2,419	1,691	70.0	2	149	8.8	0	119	79	4	1	C.O.	

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(1) Two 102 forms (individual school reports) were missing from those sent in by HEW, so Pointe Coupee's figures are incomplete.

LOUISIANA

TABLE II FOOTNOTES CONTINUED

(2) Includes the Australia Island School, Star Route, Vicksburg, Miss. Australia Island School is all black and unaccredited.

(3) Includes schools with fewer than 10 blacks. In New Orleans there are 6 such schools; in East Feliciana, 1; Morehouse, 2.

(4) Includes schools with fewer than 10 whites. In New Orleans there are 16 such schools; in Pointe Coupee 1.

MISSISSIPPI

Table I

District	Total Population	Black % of Total	White Voting-age Pop.	Black Voting-age Pop.	White Regis.	Black Regis.	%White Regis.	%Black Regis.	Total Family Income Median	Black Family Income Median	Median School Years Completed	
											Total	Black
ABERDEEN	6,450	40.7							$3,303		9.4	
Monroe	33,953	35.4	13,426	5,610	13,596	2,337	100+	41.6	3,002	1,317	9.8	6.6
AMITE	15,573	54.2	4,449	3,560	4,247	2,347	95.4	65.9	2,246	1,392	8.4	6.3
ANGUILLA LINE												
Sharkey	10,738	69.8	1,882	3,152	6,324	1,582	100+	50.2	1,859	1,400	7.3	5.7
ATTALLA	21,335	44.7	7,522	4,262	7,579	2,625	100+	61.6	2,116	1,167	8.6	6.4
BENTON	7,723	46.7	2,514	1,419	2,894	1,195	100+	84.2	1,853	995	7.9	4.9
BOLIVAR	54,464	67.8	10,031	15,939	7,086	8,449	70.6	53.0	1,768	1,198	6.5	4.7
CANTON	9,707	64.1							2,721		8.8	
Madison	32,904	71.8	5,622	10,366	6,287	7,042	100+	67.9	1,862	1,106	7.5	5.8
CARROLL	11,177	58.2	2,969	2,704	3,284	1,984	100+	73.4	1,484	883	7.7	5.7
CLAIBORNE	10,845	76.0	1,688	3,969	1,895	3,150	100+	79.4	1,647	1,081	7.8	6.6
CLARKSDALE	21,105	53.5							3,427	1,883	8.9	6.0
Coahoma	46,212	68.3	8,708	14,604	7,884	9,883	90.5	67.3	2,101	1,406	7.2	4.9
CLAY	18,933	51.3	5,547	4,444	3,524	1,481	63.5	33.3	2,851	1,330	8.9	6.3
COAHOMA	46,212	68.3	8,708	14,604	7,884	9,833	90.5	67.3	2,101	1,406	7.2	4.9
DREW	2,143	39.9										
Sunflower	45,750	67.8	8,785	13,524	7,513	5,665	85.5	41.9	1,790	1,126	6.9	4.7
EAST TALLAHATCHIE												
Tallahatchie	24,081	64.4	5,099	6,483	5,629	3,412	100+	52.6	1,588	1,129	6.7	4.5
FRANKLIN COUNTY	9,286	40.9	3,403	1,842	3,135	1,201	92.1	65.2	2,769	1,500	8.5	5.4
GREENVILLE	41,502	49.2							3,812	2,005	9.1	5.9
Washington	78,638	55.2	19,837	20,619	15,340	9,056	77.3	43.9	3,112	1,597	8.3	5.2

MISSISSIPPI

TABLE I (Continued)

District	Total Population	Black % of Total	White Voting-age Pop.	Black Voting-age Pop.	White Regis.	Black Regis.	%White Regis.	%Black Regis.	Total Family Income Median	Black Family Income Median	Median School Years Completed Total	Median School Years Completed Black
GREENWOOD	20,436	52.0							$3,380	$1,873	9.8	5.9
Leflore	47,142	64.6	10,274	13,567	8,220	9,910	80.0	73.0	2,285	1,413	7.6	5.1
GRENADA	18,409	49.2	5,792	4,323	7,602	2,547	100+	58.9	2,848	1,401	8.6	5.7
HINDS	187,045	40.0	67,836	36,138	65,773	25,758	97.0	71.3	4,783	2,254	11.8	7.6
HOLLANDALE CONS	2,646	74.3							1,835		7.4	
Washington	78,638	55.2	19,837	20,619	15,340	9,056	77.3	43.9	3,112	1,597	8.3	5.2
HOLLY BLUFF												
Yazoo	31,653	59.4	7,598	8,719	8,759	3,442	100+	29.5	2,102	1,172	7.7	5.7
HOLLY SPRINGS	5,621	61.7							3,124		9.8	
Marshall	24,503	70.4	4,342	7,168	5,672	4,628	100+	64.6	1,784	1,183	7.7	6.3
HOLMES	27,096	72.0	4,773	8,757	5,539	6,409	100+	73.2	1,453	895	7.5	5.8
HUMPHREYS	19,093	69.8	3,344	5,561	3,049	2,684	91.2	48.3	1,580	1,072	6.7	5.1
INDIANOLA	6,714	56.1							3,301		9.2	
Sunflower	45,750	67.8	8,785	13,524	7,513	5,665	85.5	41.9	1,790	1,126	6.9	4.7
ISSAQUENA-	3,546	67.1	640	1,081	877	651	100+	60.2	1,479	966	6.3	4.3
SHARKEY	10,738	69.8	1,882	3,152	6,324	1,582	100+	50.2	1,859	1,400	7.3	5.7
KEMPER	12,277	60.7	3,113	3,221	3,479	938	100+	29.1	1,515	936	8.2	6.1
LAFAYETTE	21,355	33.9	8,074	3,239	5,235	2,113	64.8	65.8	2,813	1,475	9.4	6.4

TABLE I (Continued)

MISSISSIPPI

District	Total Population	Black % of Total	White Voting-age Pop.	Black Voting-age Pop.	White Regis.	Black Regis.	%White Regis.	%Black Regis.	Total Family Income Median	Black Family Income Median	Median School Years Completed	
											Total	Black
LEAKE	18,660	43.4	6,754	3,397	7,290	2,194	100+	64.0	$1,892	$1,068	8.7	6.9
LEFLORE	47,142	64.6	10,274	13,567	8,220	9,910	80.0	73.0	2,285	1,413	7.6	5.1
LELAND CONS.	6,295	57.5							3,111		8.5	
Washington	78,638	55.2	19,837	20,619	15,340	9,056	77.3	43.9	3,112	1,597	8.3	5.2
McCOMB	12,020	28.4							4,361	2,039	10.9	7.2
Pike	35,063	43.9	12,163	6,936	11,479	3,610	94.4	52.0	3,213	1,800	9.7	6.8
MADISON	32,904	71.8	5,622	10,366	6,287	7,042	100+	67.9	1,862	1,106	7.5	5.8
MARSHALL	24,503	70.4	4,342	7,168	5,672	4,628	100+	64.6	1,784	1,183	7.7	6.3
MONTGOMERY	13,320	44.8	4,700	2,627	5,129	1,952	100+	74.3	2,000	1,095	8.9	7.0
NATCHEZ	23,791	51.9							4,001	2,222	9.6	6.9
Adams	37,730	49.5	10,888	9,340	7,769	4,576	71.4	49.0	4,069	1,994	9.4	6.4
NEWTON MUN.	3,178	37.5							3,309		12.3	
Newton	19,517	33.6	8,014	3,018	7,154	1,411	89.3	46.8	2,491	1,263	9.4	6.6
NORTH PANOLA												
Panola	28,791	56.4	7,639	7,250	7,688	4,045	100+	55.8	1,799	988	7.9	5.4
NOXUBEE	16,826	71.9	2,997	5,172	2,975	2,692	99.3	52.0	1,676	1,098	7.5	5.7
OKOLONA MUN.	2,622	31,8							3,667		10.3	
Chicasaw	16,891	38.5	6,388	3,054	7,526	2,387	100+	78.2	2,484	1,052	9.0	7.1
QUITMAN	21,019	63.3	4,176	5,673	4,088	2,708	97.9	47.7	1,517	891	6.6	4.5

MISSISSIPPI

TABLE I (Continued)

District	Total Population	Black % of Total	White Voting-age Pop.	Black Voting-age Pop.	White Regis.	Black Regis.	%White Regis.	%Black Regis.	Total Family Income Median	Black Family Income Median	Median School Years Completed Total	Median School Years Completed Black
SOUTH PANOLA												
Panola	28,791	56.4	7,639	7,250	7,688	4,045	100+	55.8	1,799	988	7.9	5.4
SOUTH PIKE												
Pike	35,063	43.9	12,163	6,936	11,479	3,610	94.4	52.0	3,213	1,800	9.7	6.8
SUNFLOWER	45,750	67.8	8,785	13,524	7,513	5,665	85.5	41.9	1,790	1,126	6.9	4.7
TATE	18,138	57.6	4,506	4,326	4,823	2,295	100+	53.1	1,752	904	7.9	5.2
TUNICA	16,826	79.2	2,011	5,822	2,122	2,179	100+	37.4	1,260	922	5.2	4.0
VICKSBURG	29,143	46.8							3,845	2,131	9.7	6.9
Warren	42,406	46.8	13,530	10,726	14,222	6,735	100+	62.8	3,547	1,850	9.1	6.4
WESTERN LINE												
Washington Co.	78,638	55.2	19,837	20,619	15,340	9,056	77.3	43.9	3,112	1,597	8.3	5.2
WEST POINT	8,550	41.9							3,686		10.2	
Clay	18,933	51.3	5,547	4,444	3,524	1,481	63.5	33.3	2,851	1,330	8.9	6.3
WILKINSON	13,235	71.2	2,340	4,120	3,321	2,728	100+	66.2	1,982	1,359	7.0	5.4
YAZOO	31,653	59.4	7,598	8,719	8,759	3,442	100+	39.5	2,102	1,172	7.7	5.7
YAZOO CITY	11,236	55.1							2,858	1,511	8.9	6.1
Yazoo	(see above)											
The State	2,178,141	42.3	748,266	422,256	691,618	250,777	92.4	59.4	2,884	1,444	8.9	6.0

TABLE II

MISSISSIPPI

Districts	No. of Sch.	Enrollment			Desegregation				Faculty				Type of Comp. Plan	Fed. Aid Status
		Total	Black	% Black	No. Sch. Des.	Blacks in Wht. Schools	% Blacks Deseg.	Whites in Blk. Schools	Total	Black	Blacks in Min. Sit.	Wht. in Min. Sit.		
ABERDEEN	7	3.078	1,749	56.8	3	313	17.8		132	64	9	20	C.O.	
AMITE	5	4,042	2,591	64.1	2	71	2.7	0	165	96		0	C.O.	
ANGUILLA LINE	2	825	625	82.5	1	18	2.8		40	24		0	C.O.	
ATTALLA	8	2,687	1,456	54.1	2	18	1.2		127	62		0	441-B	RTJ
BENTON	3	2,162	1,260	58.3	2	265	21.		96	49	2		C.O.	
BOLIVAR C. #1	4	2,593	2,164	83.4	1	235	10.8		121	72			C.O.	
BOLIVAR C. #2	2	1,343	1,117	87.6	1	32	2.7		71	56	1	1	C.O.	
BOLIVAR C. #3	3	1,891	1,637	86.5	1	87	5.3		103	74	2	10	C.O.	
BOLIVAR C. #4	7	4,752	2,902	61.	3	131	4.5		195	100	4	10	C.O.	
BOLIVAR C. #6(1)	2	1,658	1,657	99.	3			1	56	55		1	C.O.	
CANTON	5	5,065	3,745	73.9	2	6	.1	0	202	148		1	C.O.	
CARROLL	4	2,258	1,671	74.	4	478		239	111	65	9	7		
CLAIBORNE	4	2,874	2,412	83.9	1	179	7.4	0	124	91	1	3	441-B	RTJ
CLARKSDALE	12	5,242	3,139	59.8	4			11	249	141		6	C.O.	
CLAY	2	779	557	71.5	1	247	44.3		41	24	3	2	C.O.	
COAHOMA	13	5,392	4,467		4	114			228	173	3	2	441-B	
DREW (2)	5	1,858	1,362	73.3	1	214		162	94	64	8	2	C.O.	
EAST TALLAHATCHIE	5	2,923	1,856	63.4	2	320	17.2		139	82		2	441-B	Ref.

MISSISSIPPI

TABLE II (Continued)

Districts	No. of Sch.	Enrollment			Desegregation				Faculty				Type of Comp. Plan	Fed. Aid Status
		Total	Black	% Black	No. Sch. Des.	Blacks in Wht. Schools	% Blacks Deseg.	Whites in Blk. Schools	Total	Black	Blacks in Min. Sit.	Wht. in Min. Sit.		
FRANKLIN COUNTY	3	2,215	1,119		2(3)	50			110	56	7	8	C.O.	
GREENVILLE	18	12,238	6,762	55.2	9	1,112	16.4	330	508	240	6	5	C.O.	Def.
GREENWOOD	8	5,628	3,239	57.5	3	323	9.9	2	264	131	10	8	C.O.	
GRENADA MUN (7)	8	5,021	2,805	55.8	4	212	7.5		192	101	8	3	C.O.	
HINDS	21	13,651	7,019	51.4	11	440	6.2		588	271	17	5	C.O.	
HOLLANDALE CONS.	3	2,298	2,134	92.8	1	12	.5		98	85			C.O.	
HOLLY BLUFF	2	636	458	72.	1	6	1.3		36	24		1	C.O.	
HOLLY SPRINGS	3	2,395	1,822	76.	2	165	9.0		112	71	7	11	C.O.	
HOLMES	11	6,481	5,537	85.4	3	153	2.7		286	220	1		C.O.	
HUMPHREYS C.	5	4,282	3,552	82.9	2	1,879(4)	52.8	83	207	152	4(1)	9(1)	C.O.	
INDIANOLA	5	3,790	2,799	73.8	1				160	112		1	C.O.	
ISSAQUENA-SHARKEY	4	2,608	2,051	78.6	1	105	5.1		114	82			C.O.	
KEMPER	5	2,824	2,030	71.8	1	3	0.1		136	93		1	C.O.	
LAFAYETTE	3	1,962	1,032	52.5	1	248	24.		78	23	2	6	441-B	Ref.
LEAKE	7	4,226	2,175	51.4	1	58	2.6		188	96		1	C.O.	
LEFLORE	10	5,839	4,863	83.2	3	73	1.5		292	216	4	8	C.O.	
LELAND CONS.	2	3,432	2,440	71.	1	126	5.		136	82	5	8	C.O.	

MISSISSIPPI

TABLE II (Continued)

Districts	No. of Sch.	Enrollment			Desegregation				Faculty				Type of Comp. Plan	Fed. Aid Status
		Total	Black	% Black	No. Sch. Des.	Blacks in Wht. Schools	% Blacks Deseg.	Whites in Blk. Schools	Total	Black	Blacks in Min. Sit.	Wht. in Min. Sit.		
McCOMB	9	4,192	2,132	50.6	5	1083	51.		191	84			441-B	Ref.
MADISON (1)	8	4,605	3,392	74.	4	30	0.8		221	149		4	C.O.	
MARSHALL	7	4,651	3,376	72.5	3	108	3.1		187	119			C.O.	
MONTGOMERY	4	2,030	1,310	64.5	2	257	19.6		91	56	7	4	C.O.	
NATCHEZ MUN. (6)	17	10,148	5,901	58.1	10	559	9.4		389	189	1	2	C.O.	
NEWTON MUN. (1)	2	1,725	876	50.8	1	20	2.3		78½	36½			441-B	Def.
NORTH PANOLA	8	3,421	2,562	74.8	4	376	14.6		157	104	1		441-B	Ref.
NOXUBEE	4	3,035	2,410		4			608	190	133		63	441-B	Acc.
OKOLONA MUN.	2	1,589	856	53.8	1	12	1.4		66	33	1	2	C.O.	
QUITMAN	8	4,627	3,221	69.6	4	330	10.2		216	139	12	4	C.O.	
SOUTH PANOLA	6	4,447	2,434	54.1	4	466	19.1		174	84	8	1		
SOUTH PIKE	3	3,106	2,078	66.9	3	2,078	100.	783	136	74			C.O.	
SUNFLOWER	7	4,173	3,551	85.	2	181	5.		183	139			C.O.	
TATE (1)	8	4,027	2,717	67.5	2	28	1.		174	107		3	441-B	Ref.
TUNICA	3	3,471	3,039	87.5	1	174	5.7		154	109	4	12	C.O.	
VICKSBURG	10	5,659	3,443	61.	5	277	8.		315	162	6	12	441-B	Def.

MISSISSIPPI

TABLE II (Continued)

Districts	No. of Sch.	Enrollment			Desegregation				Faculty				Type of Comp. Plan	Fed. Aid Status
		Total	Black	% Black	No. Sch. Des.	Blacks in Wht. Schools	% Blacks Deseg.	Whites in Blk. Schools	Total	Black	Blacks in Min. Sit.	Wht. in Min. Sit.		
WESTERN LINE	3	2,613	1,904	72.8	1	38	1.9		114	75			C.O.	
WEST POINT	7	4,048	2,279	56.2		374	16.4		178	78	13	14	C.O.	
WILKINSON	4	3,475	2,709	77.9	2	29	1.		167	120			C.O.	
YAZOO	7	3,595	2,496	69.4	2	111	4.4		179	114			C.O.	
YAZOO CITY	8	3,824	2,106	55.	5	117	5.5		178	85			C.O.	

(1) Figures are 1968-69.

(2) One school in the district not reported to HEW.

(3) Includes one special education school with 18 children.

(4) Includes one school with 1,668 blacks and 83 whites.

(5) There are no accredited schools in Issaquena County.

(6) Embraces all of county.

NORTH CAROLINA

TABLE I

District	Total Population	Black % of Total	White Voting-age Pop.	Black Voting-age Pop.	White Regis.	Black Regis.	%White Regis.	%Black Regis.	Total Family Income Median	Black Family Income Median	Median School Years Completed	
											Total	Black
ANSON	24,962	48.0	7,847	5,218	6,800	2,000	86.7	38.3	$2,763	$1,457	8.3	6.5
BERTIE	24,350	59.4	6,156	6,261	6,279	4,689	100+	74.9	2,117	1,291	7.6	6.6
BLADEN	28,881	42.3	9,173	5,147	1,532	2,392	71.2	46.5	2,446	1,348	7.9	7.1
CAMDEN COUNTY	5,598	42.1	1,988	1,054	1,928	557	97.0	52.8	2,792	1,565	7.8	6.6
CASWELL	19,912	48.0	6,026	4,129	5,423	2,039	90.0	49.4	2,806	1,699	7.4	6.2
DURHAM	78,302	36.3							4,673	2,882	9.9	7.7
Durham Co.	111,995	32.2	47,098	19,475	34,329	14,559	70.8	74.8	4,876	2,873	9.7	7.5
EDENTON	1,458	38.1							3,918		9.4	
Chowan	11,729	46.6	3,825	2,507	2,776	1,032	72.6	41.2	2,714	1,793	8.1	6.5
EDGECOMBE	54,226	51.9	15,515	12,330	11,400	5,103	73.5	41.4	2,935	1,554	7.8	5.9
ELM CITY												
Wilson	57,716	40.2	20,566	10,770	13,638	3,473	66.3	32.2	3,087	1,622	8.1	5.8
FAIRMONT	2,286	47.7										
Robeson	89,102	59.0	20,851	21,424	14,424	14,630	69.2	68.3	2,247	1,242	7.8	6.5
FRANKLIN	28,755	44.4	9,842	5,554	7,787	2,690	79.1	48.4	2,366	1,281	7.8	7.1
FRANKLINTON CITY	1,513	11.0										
Franklin	(see above)											
GATES	9,254	54.3	2,714	2,344	1,879	893	69.2	38.1	2,260	1,607	7.9	6.6
GOLDSBORO	28,873	41.2							3,444	2,244	9.5	7.5
Wayne	82,059	36.8	29,349	15,754	18,410	5,456	62.7	34.6	3,022	1,787	9.2	7.5
GREENE	16,741	50.3	4,793	3,268	3,940	1,558	82.2	47.7	1,451	813	7.4	6.1

NORTH CAROLINA

TABLE I (Continued)

District	Total Population	Black % of Total	White Voting-age Pop.	Black Voting-age Pop.	White Regis.	Black Regis.	%White Regis.	%Black Regis.	Total Family Income Median	Black Family Income Median	Median School Years Completed	
											Total	Black
HALIFAX	58,956	55.1	16,496	13,766	16,485	5,872	99.9	42.7	2,797	1,330	7.4	5.4
HERTFORD	22,718	59.0	5,606	6,102	4,589	3,677	81.9	60.3	2,714	1,809	8.2	6.6
HOKE	16,356	57.4	3,998	3,747	2,833	2,221	70.9	59.3	2,733	1,264	7.8	5.7
HYDE	5,765	42.2	2,201	1,100	1,432	428	65.1	38.9	1,979	1,231	7.9	5.5
JONES	11,005	47.0	3,248	2,251	2,221	1,191	68.4	52.9	2,238	1,687	8.2	7.5
MARTIN	27,139	50.0	8,052	5,683	8,489	3,610	100+	63.5	2,366	1,490	7.8	6.0
NORTHAMPTON	26,811	63.8	6,178	7,304	6,318	5,423	100+	74.2	2,255	1,450	7.0	5.7
PENDER	18,508	48.1	5,631	4,085	3,961	1,511	70.3	37.0	2,376	1,391	8.2	7.0
PERQUIMANS	9,178	46.9	3,083	2,027	2,301	1,142	74.6	56.3	2,370	1,516	8.2	6.5
TYRRELL	4,520	43.7	1,597	849	1,133	451	71.8	53.1	1,927	1,487	7.9	6.1
WARREN	19,652	64.7	4,439	5,490	4,821	2,819	100+	51.3	1,958	1,308	7.6	6.2
WELDON	2,165	49.5										
Halifax	58,956	55.1	16,496	13,766	16,485	5,872	99.9	42.7	2,797	1,330	7.4	5.4
The State	4,556,155	25.4	2,005,955	550,929	1,579,000	305,000	78.7	55.3	3,956	1,992	8.9	7.0

NORTH CAROLINA

TABLE II

Districts	No. of Sch.	Enrollment			Desegregation				Faculty				Type of Comp. Plan	Fed. Aid Status
		Total	Black	% Black	No. Sch. Des.	Blacks in Wht. Schools	% Blacks Deseg.	Whites in Blk. Schools	Total	Black	Blacks in Min. Sit.	Wht. in Min. Sit.		
ANSON	14	5,982	3,608	60.3	14	280	7.8	1,981	275	128	55	31	C.O.	
BERTIE	14	5,966	4,554	76.3	14	21	.5	1,265	250	138	26	41	C.O.	
BLADEN	13	7,566	3,847	50.8	10	949	24.7	337	332	148	33	1	441-B	Acc.
CAMDEN	3	1,470	747	50.8	2	342	45.8	0			11	4	441-B	Ref.
CASWELL	13	4,974	2,953	59.4	13	275	9.3	1,611	228	116	44	34	441	
DURHAM CITY	26	14,106	8,141	57.7	14	1,231	15.1	172	632	302	16	12	C.O.	
EDENTON-CHOWAN	5	2,911	1,636	56.2	5	226	13.8	958	137	60	8	21	C.O.	
EDGECOMBE	12	7,875	5,410	68.7	4(1)	682	12.6	2	319	171	20	39	441-B	Ref.
ELM CITY	2	1,473	927	62.9	2(4)			546	69	32	8	18	441-B	Acc.
FAIRMONT CITY	3	2,408	1,379	57.3	2(3)	384	27.8	4	92	37	6	6	441-B	Ref.
FRANKLIN	10	5,009	2,940	58.7	10	626	21.3	1,356	232	77	59	4	C.O.	
FRANKLINTON CITY	2	1,454	879	60.4	2(4)			575	70	30	30	0	441-B	Acc.
GATES (2)	6	2,481	1,480	59.6	2	62	4.2	0	103	61	11	7	441-B	
GOLDSBORO CITY	10	7,739	4,253	54.9	7(1)	329(3)	7.7	2,048	288	127	63	26	441-B	Ref.
GREENE	9	4,431	2,734	61.7	9(4)			1,697	190	71	63	6	C.O.	
HALIFAX	18	10,208	7,877	77.2	4(1)	411	5.2	1	431	306	15	16	C.O.	
HERTFORD	7	6,667	4,460	66.9	3	537	12.0	0	276	160	5	9	441-B	Acc.
HOKE	7	4,910	2,530	51.5	7	600	23.7	1,662	214	82	59	13	441-B	Acc.

NORTH CAROLINA

TABLE II (Continued)

Districts	No. of Sch.	Enrollment			Desegregation				Faculty				Type of Comp. Plan	Fed. Aid Status
		Total	Black	% Black	No. Sch. Des.	Blacks in Wht. Schools	% Blacks Deseg.	Whites in Blk. Schools	Total	Black	Blacks in Min. Sit.	Wht. in Min. Sit.		
HYDE	4	1,436	849	59.1	1	214	25.2		64	32	6	1	441-B	Acc.
JONES	8	2,782	1,719	61.8	8	80	4.6	940	131	62	29	18	C.O.	
MARTIN	16	7,284	4,040	55.5	8				320	159			441-B	Acc.
NORTHAMPTON	13	6,935	5,554	20.1	12	372	6.7	976	313	184	16	55	C.O.	
PENDER	11	4,745	2,678	56.4	11(1)	973	36.3	825	218	100	53	16	441-B	Acc.
PERQUIMANS	5	2,221	1,245	56.0	3	290	23.3		103	54	14	8	441-B	Acc.
TYRRELL	2	1,066	620	58.2	2(4)			446	51	20	6	11	441-B	Acc.
WARREN	10	4,419	3,325	75.2	10(4)			1,094	208	123		85	C.O.	
WELDON CITY	5	2,180	1,499	61.8	3(3)	249	16.6	88	95	57	10	10	441-B	Acc.

(1) Includes one school with less than 10 whites.

(2) Estimates

(3) Includes one school with less than 10 blacks.

(4) All schools in the district are majority black.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Table I -

District	Total Population	Black % of Total	White Voting-age Pop.	Black Voting-age Pop.	White Regis.	Black Regis.	%White Regis.	%Black Regis.	Total Family Income Median	Black Family Income Median	Median School Years Completed	
											Total	Black
ALLENDALE	11,362	63.2	2,531	3,205	2,235	2,033	88.3	63.4	$2,188	$1,326	7.3	4.4
BAMBERG	16,274	55.8	4,371	3,807	3,604	2,485	82.5	65.3	2,380	1,418	7.8	5.5
BARNWELL	17,659	43.3	5,652	3,242	5,542	2,248	98.1	69.3	2,266	1,239	8.5	5.1
BEAUFORT	44,187	38.7	12,098	7,247	5,794	4,474	47.9	61.8	3,597	1,728	9.9	5.5
CALHOUN	12,256	66.9	2,623	3,318	2,159	1,594	82.3	48.0	1,766	956	7.6	5.6
CLARENDON	29,490	68.3	5,223	7,735	5,198	4,610	99.5	59.6	1,945	1,241	6.9	5.1
COLLETON	27,816	51.1	8,203	6,180	7,120	3,952	86.8	63.9	2,462	1,305	7.7	5.0
DARLINGTON	52,928	44.4	16,706	9,900	13,058	5,057	78.2	51.1	3,231	1,435	8.1	5.8
DILLON	3,584	46.5	8,725	5,529					2,356	987	7.3	5.4
DORCHESTER	24,383	48.8	7,121	5,370					3,031	1,488	8.2	5.3
EDGEFIELD	15,735	58.2	4,103	3,764	3,661	1,773	89.2	47.1	2,595	1,551	8.3	5.8
FAIRFIELD	20,713	59.5	4,975	5,536	4,119	3,842	82.8	69.4	2,730	1,642	7.3	5.4
FLORENCE	84,438	43.2	27,047	15,951	22,769	9,722	84.2	60.9	3,232	1,636	8.4	5.4
HAMPTON	17,425	53.9	4,711	4,052					2,487	1,502	7.5	4.4
JASPER	12,237	62.3	2,689	3,333	2,179	2,045	81.0	61.4	2,401	1,555	8.3	4.5
LEE	21,832	65.8	4,394	5,446	3,984	2,759	90.7	50.7	1,680	912	7.1	5.0
McCORMICK	8,629	61.6	1,915	2,248	1,733	1,157	90.5	51.5	2,639	1,799	7.5	5.3
MARION	32,014	55.0	8,103	7,684	5,751	3,817	71.0	49.7	2,307	1,276	7.8	5.9
MARLBORO	28,529	48.8	8,230	5,932	7,180	3,120	87.2	52.6	2,465	1,375	7.3	5.3

SOUTH CAROLINA

Table I (Continued)

District	Total Population	Black % of Total	White Voting-age Pop.	Black Voting-age Pop.	White Regis.	Black Regis.	%White Regis.	%Black Regis.	Total Family Income Median	Black Family Income Median	Median School Years Completed	
											Total	Black
ORANGEBURG	68,559	60.1	16,381	17,355	15,009	12,458	91.6	71.8	2,603	1,461	8.2	5.7
SUMTER	74,941	46.8	22,004	15,380	12,218	7,675	55.5	49.9	3,267	1,595	9.2	6.2
WILLIAMSBURG	40,932	66.5	7,560	10,535	6,600	6,479	87.3	61.5	1,631	916	7.2	5.5
The State	2,382,594	34.9	895.147	371,104	647,277	207,509	72.9	55.9	3,821	1,699	8.7	5.9

TABLE II

SOUTH CAROLINA

Districts	No. of Sch.	Enrollment			Desegregation				Faculty				Type of Comp. Plan	Fed. Aid Status
		Total	Black	% Black	No. Sch. Des.	Blacks in Wht. Schools	% Blacks Deseg.	Whites in Blk. Schools	Total	Black	Blacks in Min. Sit.	Wht. in Min. Sit.		
BAMBERG #1	6	2,230	1,270	57.0	6	37	2.9	0	99	48	4	0	441-B	RTJ
BAMBERG #2	5	1,984	1,452	73.2	2	176	12.1	0	83	52	4	4	C.O.	
BARNWELL #19	4	1,264	719	56.9	2	9	1.3	0	61	27	2	0	441-B	Ref.
BARNWELL #29	3	1,412	758	53.7	3	18	2.4	0	59	28	3	1	441-B	Term
CAMERON #2 Calhoun Co.	2	807	807	100.					35	34	0	1	C.O.	
CLARENDON #2	9	3,700	2,656	71.8	3	62	2.3	0	161	104	0	1	C.O.	
CLARENDON #3	2	1,616	860	53.2	1	11	1.3	0	65	32	0	0	C.O.	
DILLON #1	4	1,713	991	57.8	2	30	3.0	0	82	46	1	0	441-B	Ref.
DILLON #2	13	5,026	2,564	51.0	3	47	4.9	1	211	101	3	1	441-B	Term
DORCHESTER #1	4	1,835	1,264	68.9	2	41	3.2	0	85	51	0	1	C.O.	
DORCHESTER #3	6	1,626	931	57.3	3	100	15.2	0	80	40	1	0	C.O.	
FLORENCE #3	11	5,404	3,092	57.2	6	553	17.8	0	235	101	6	7	441-B	Acc.
FLORENCE #4	4	1,826	1,380	75.6	2	13	0.9	0	91	58	0	0	441-B	Ref.
HAMPTON #2	5	1,908	1,540	80.6	1	86	5.6	0	94	62	0	0	441-B	Ref.
MARION #1	8	3,599	2,097	58.3	4	483	23.0	0	162	76	14	6	441-B	App.
MARION #2	7	3,641	2,197	60.3	4	221	10.1	0	151	76	9	9	441-B	Acc.
MARION #3(1)	4	1,057	800	75.7	2	38	4.8	0	52	29	0	6	441-B	Term
MARION #4	2	482	409	84.5	1	3	0.7	0	29	20	2	0	441-B	Ref.

SOUTH CAROLINA

TABLE II (Continued)

Districts	No. of Sch.	Enrollment			Desegregation				Faculty				Type of Comp. Plan	Fed. Aid Status
		Total	Black	% Black	No. Sch. Des.	Blacks in Wht. Schools	% Blacks Deseg.	Whites in Blk. Schools	Total	Black	Blacks in Min. Sit.	Wht. in Min. Sit.		
ORANGEBURG #1	6	1,603	909	56.7	3	58	6.4	0	77	38	2		441-B	Ref.
ORANGEBURG #3	9	4,499	3,704	82.3	2	33	.89	0	202	156	1		441-B	Ref.
ORANGEBURG #5	12	7,655	4,457	58.2	7	2,096	47.2	0	334	182	4	14	C.O.	
ORANGEBURG #6	3	1,264	705	55.7	3	705	100.	60	64	30	5	9	441-B	Ref.
ORANGEBURG #7	2	1,256	914	72.7	1	25	2.7	0	54	36	0		C.O.	
ORANGEBURG #8	2	617	349	56.6	1	5	1.4	0	40	20	0	15	441-B	Ref.
SUMTER #2	13	10,687	6,040	56.5	6	519	8.6	0	436	231	1	6	C.O.	
COUNTY SCHOOL DISTRICTS														
ALLENDALE	6	2,946	2,061	69.9	3	84	4.1		136	80	3	6	C.O.	
BEAUFORT	19	10,292	5,793	56.3	9	621	10.7	18	479	236	13	22	441-B	Def.
COLLETON	19	7,551	4,504	59.6	6	284	6.3	49	356	197	8	15	441-B	Ref.
DARLINGTON	28	15,344	7,774	50.7	15	402	5.2		711	334	14	12	C.O.	
EDGEFIELD	7	4,183	2,858	68.3	4	92	3.2	2	185	115	3		441-B	Ref.
FAIRFIELD	12	5,613	4,026	71.7	4	222	5.5		305	166		2	441-B	Ref.

SOUTH CAROLINA

TABLE II (Continued)

Districts	No. of Sch.	Enrollment Total	Enrollment Black	Enrollment % Black	Desegregation No. Sch. Des.	Desegregation Blacks in Wht. Schools	Desegregation % Blacks Deseg.	Desegregation Whites in Blk. Schools	Faculty Total	Faculty Black	Faculty Blacks in Min. Sit.	Faculty Wht. in Min. Sit.	Type of Comp. Plan	Fed. Aid Status
JASPER	6	3,552	2,300	64.8	2	159	6.9		173	99	3	2	441-B	Ref.
LEE	11	5,801	4,256	73.6	4	253	5.9		245	165	6		C.O.	Ref.
McCORMICK	8	2,604	1,893	72.7	4	134	7.7	25	127	84	4	4	441-B	Ref.
MARLBORO	15	7,490	3,961	52.8	9	877	22.1	53	286	130	39	15	441-B	Acc.
WILLIAMSBURG	15	11,420	8,300	72.7	6	649	7.8	4	546	331	14	24	441-B	Acc.

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(1) 1968-69 Figures.

TENNESSEE

TABLE I

District	Total Population	Black % of Total	White* Voting-age Pop.	Black* Voting-age Pop.	White* Regis.	Black* Regis.	%White* Regis.	%Black* Regis.	Total Family Income Median	Black Family Income Median	Median School Years Completed Total	Median School Years Completed Black
CROCKETT	14,594	24.4							$2,341	$1,289	8.4	6.4
FAYETTE	24,577	68.9							1,363	854	6.9	5.6
HAYWOOD	23,393	61.3							1,773	1,101	7.5	5.8
MEMPHIS	497,524	37.1							4,915	2,777	10.5	7.9
Shelby	627,019	36.4							4,903	2,666	10.4	7.7
The State	3,567,089	16.5	1,779,018	313,873	1,448,000	228,000	81.3	72.6	3,949	2,292	8.8	7.5

*County-by-county voter registration are not available for Tennessee.

TABLE II

Districts	No. of Sch.	Enrollment			Desegregation				Faculty				Type of Comp. Plan	Fed. Aid Status
		Total	Black	% Black	No. Sch. Des.	Blacks in Wht. Schools	% Blacks Deseg.	Whites in Blk. Schools	Total	Black	Blacks in Min. Sit.	Wht. in Min. Sit.		
CROCKETT	4	976	976	100					41	40		1	C.O.	
FAYETTE	17	6,674	5,224	93.2	7	525	10.0		260	154	16	29	C.O.	
HAYWOOD (1)	15	4,850	3,884	80.0	6	204	4.2		180	113	12	24	C.O.	
MEMPHIS MUN.	135	133,434		55.8	57	4,713	6.3		5,708	2,570	407	894	C.O.	

(1) Figures are for 1968-69.

TEXAS

TABLE I

District	Total Population	Black % of Total	White * Voting-age Pop.	Black* Voting-age Pop.	White* Regis.	Black* Regis.	%White* Regis.	%Black* Regis.	Total Family Income Median	Black Family Income Median	Median School Years Completed	
											Total	Black
BROOKELAND												
Jasper	22,100	24.9							$ 3,485	$ 2,162	8.6	7.3
CASON												
Morris	12,576	27.0							4,912	2,006	9.8	7.5
CENTERVILLE	3,067	54.2										
Leon	9,951	38.2							1,946	1,118	8.6	6.9
COLDSPRING-OAKHURST	1,143	67.8										
San Jacinto	6,153	52.2							1,737	1,372	7.3	5.6
CONCORD RURAL												
Rusk	36,421	29.1							3,862	1,699	9.6	7.2
DEW COMMON												
Freestone	12,525	39.3							2,361	1,091	8.7	7.2
ELYSIAN FIELDS												
Harrison	45,594	43.4							3,723	1,853	9.4	7.5
HEMPSTEAD	1,505	22.5										
Waller	12,071	53.7							3,219	2,023	9.4	9.0
HUNGERFORD												
Wharton	38,152	20.5							3,692	1,689	8.1	6.3
JACKSON COMMON												
Marion	8,049	52.4							2,351	1,274	8.8	7.6
JEDDA												
Bastrop	16,925	31.3							2,805	1,613	7.8	6.4
JEFFERSON	3,082	37.5							3,500		10.1	
Marion	(See Above)											

TEXAS

TABLE I (Continued)

District	Total Population	Black % of Total	White* Voting-age Pop.	Black* Voting-age Pop.	White* Regis.	Black* Regis.	%White * Regis.	%Black* Regis.	Total Family Income Median	Black Family Income Median	Median School Years Completed	
											Total	Black
KARNACK Harrison	1,877 45,594	60.1 43.4							3,723	1,853	9.4	7.5
KENDLETON Fort Bend	40,527	20.1							3,950	1,877	7.7	6.2
LANGVILIE Rusk	3,082 36,421	44.3 29.1							3,862	1,699	9.6	7.2
MT. HAVEN Cherokee	33,120	25.8							2,971	1,656	8.8	6.8
OAKWOOD Leon	1,575 9,951	49.5 38.2							1,946	1,118	8.6	6.9
ROYAL Waller	12,071	53.7							3,219	2,023	9.4	9.0
ST. PAUL SHILOH Leon	(See Above)											
SHADY GROVE COM. Cherokee	(See Above)											
SHIRO Grimes	12,709	38.2							2,223	1,298	7.9	6.4
SNOOK Burleson	11,177	31.3							2,451	1,383	7.8	7.1
STRONG COMMON Shelby	20,479	25.7							2,570	1,699	8.4	6.6
WILMER-HUTCHINS Dallas	2,885 951,527	5.5 14.7							6,188	3,138	11.9	8.7

TEXAS

TABLE I (Continued)

District	Total Population	Black % of Total	White Voting-age Pop.	Black Voting-age Pop.	White Regis.	Black Regis.	%White Regis.	%Black Regis.	Total Family Income Median	Black Family Income Median	Median School Years Completed	
											Total	Black
The State	9,579,677	12.6	4,884,765	649,512	3,532,000	540,000	72.3	83.1	4,884	2,591	10.4	8.1

*Texas does not keep county-by-county voter registration figures by race; the total state estimates are for 1968. Texas has annual voter registration, so the above figures are out-dated.

Many of these Texas districts are so small as to negate any value of figures on population, income and education that are available for the area. Therefore, the districts in this table should be used only to identify the county in which the district is located.

TABLE II

TEXAS

Districts	No of Sch.	Enrollment			Desegregation				Faculty				Type of Comp. Plan	Fed. Aid Status
		Total	Black	% Black	No. Sch. Des.	Blacks in Wht. Schools	% Blacks Deseg.	Whites in Blk. Schools	Total	Black	Blacks in Min. Sit.	Wht. in Min. Sit.		
BROOKELAND	2	178	89	50.0	2	48	53.9	40	14	3	3	0	441-B	
CASON	2	240	240	100.					11	11			441-B	
CENTERVILLE	5	617	328	53.2	2	53	16.1	0	33	15	0	0	441	
COLDSPRING-OAKHURST	3	986	681	69.1	3	0		305	59	28	5	13	441-B	
CONCORD RURAL HIGH	1	202	202	100.					11	11			441-B	
DEW COMMON	1	43	26	60.5	1	0		17	3	1	1	0	441-B	
ELYSIAN FIELDS	4	632	361	57.1	2	41	11.3	0	35	15	0	4	441-B	
HEMPSTEAD	4	1,117	611	54.7	3	78	12.8	0	49	22	0	1	441-B	
HUNGERFORD	3	569(1)	395	69.1	3			174	27	14	4	3	441-B	
JACKSON COMMON	2	25	25	100.					2	2			441-B	
JEDDO	1	18	18	100					1	1			441-B	
JEFFERSON	8	1,922	1,168	60.8	3	147	12.6		95	53	1	1	441-B	
KARNACK	4	672	463	68.9		101	21.8		31	18	2	1	441-B	
KENDLETON	2	317(2)	249	78.5	2			2	16	15		1	441-B	
LANEVILLE	1	430	292	67.9	1			127	19	7	7		441-B	
MT. HAVEN	1	39	39	100.					2	2			441-B	
OAKWOOD	2	237	124	52.3	2			113	12	2	2		441-B	

TEXAS

TABLE II (Continued)

Districts	No. of Sch.	Enrollment			Desegregation				Faculty				Type of Comp. Plan	Fed. Aid Status
		Total	Black	% Black	No. Sch. Des.	Blacks in Wht. Schools	% Blacks Deseg.	Whites in Blk. Schools	Total	Black	Blacks in Min. Sit.	Wht. in Min. Sit.		
ROYAL	4	947	586	61.9	4	0		361	61	14	9		441-B	
ST. PAUL SHILOH	1	95	95	100.					13	13			441-B	
SHADY GROVE COM.	1	31	31	100.					2	2			441	
SHIRO	1	42	42	100.					6	6			441-B	
SNOOK	2	535	282	52.7	2			253	30	9	9		441-B	
STRONG COMMON	1	81	51	63.0	1			30	6	1	1		441-B	
WILMER-HUTCHINS	10	4,494	2,716	60.4	8(3)	507	18.7	194	187	109	20	16	441-B	

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(1) Includes 98 Spanish surname children.

(2) Kendleton has 4 non-Spanish surname whites

(3) Includes one school with fewer than 10 whites.

(4) Texas counts Spanish surnamed children as whites.

VIRGINIA

TABLE I

District	Total Population	Black % of Total	White* Voting-age Pop.	Black* Voting-age Pop.	White* Regis.	Black* Regis.	%White* Regis.	%Black* Regis.	Total Family Income Median	Black Family Income Median	Median School Years Completed	
											Total	Black
ACCOMACK	30,655	38.7							$2,817	$1,846	8.0	5.3
AMELIA	7,815	51.3							2,715	1,866	7.6	6.3
BUCKINGHAM	10,877	44.7							2,416	1,429	7.4	5.6
CAROLINE	12,725	52.6							3,658	2,814	7.8	6.4
CHARLES CITY	5,492	83.3							3,359	3,045	7.6	7.2
CUMBERLAND	6,360	54.2							2,013	1,367	7.2	5.4
DINWIDDIE	22,183	61.7							3,762	2,405	7.0	5.4
ESSEX	6,690	47.5							3,407	2,486	8.5	7.0
GOOCHLAND	9,206	48.2							3,313	2,328	7.5	5.4
GREENSVILLE	16,115	54.9							2,936	1,827	7.0	5.3
HALIFAX	33,637	44.4							2,724	1,430	7.5	5.9
ISLE OF WIGHT	17,164	52.6							3,780	2,730	7.8	5.9
KING & QUEEN	5,889	53.1							3,162	2,149	7.6	6.0
KING WILLIAM	7,653	47.1							3,913	2,591	8.8	6.1
LOUISA	12,959	39.9							3,084	2,246	7.8	6.2
LUNENBERG	12,523	42.2							2,871	1,709	8.0	6.0
MECKLENBURG	31,428	46.8							2,779	1,387	8.0	6.2
MIDDLESEX	6,319	41.4							2,808	1,771	8.2	6.5

VIRGINIA

TABLE I (Continued)

District	Total Population	Black % of Total	White* Voting-age Pop.	Black* Voting-age Pop.	White* Regis.	Black* Regis.	%White* Regis.	%Black* Regis.	Total Family Income Median	Black Family Income Median	Median School Years Completed	
											Total	Black
NANSEMOND	31,366	63.1							3,496	2,596	7.4	6.1
NEW KENT	4,504	52.8							3,901	2,854	8.1	6.5
PRINCE EDWARD	14,121	39.1							3,043	1,848	8.2	6.0
SOUTHAMPTON	27,195	57.6							2,964	1,775	7.4	5.1
SURRY	6,220	64.7							2,694	1,993	7.4	5.9
SUSSEX	12,411	66.3							2,581	1,750	7.1	5.3
WESTMORELAND	11,042	46.8							3,051	2,151	7.5	5.5
The State	3,966,949	20.8	1,876,167	436,720	1,256,000	255,000	67.0	58.4	4,964	2,780	9.9	7.2

*County-by-County voter registration figures are not available for Virginia.

TABLE II

VIRGINIA

Districts	No. of Sch.	Enrollment			Desegregation				Faculty				Type of Comp. Plan	Fed. Aid Status
		Total	Black	% Black	No. Sch. Des.	Blacks in Wht. Schools	% Blacks Deseg.	Whites in Blk. Schools	Total	Black	Blacks in Min. Sit.	Wht. in Min. Sit.		
ACCOMACK	17	6,646	3,463	52.1	11(1)	192	5.5		280	114	6	6	441-B	Rtj.
AMELIA	2	1,747	1,143	65.4	2			604	80	41	15	18	C.O.	
BUCKINGHAM	7	2,737	1,542	56.3	5	140	9.0	0	107	47	9	13	441-B	Acc.
CAROLINE	7	3,505	2,166	61.8	6(2)	446	20.6	809	144	67	17	21	C.O.	
CHARLES CITY CO.	5	1,877	1,551	82.6	2	90	5.8	106	81	55	2	14	C.O.	
CUMBERLAND	2	1,624	969	59.7	2			655	63	27	7	18	441-B	Acc.
DINWIDDIE	10	5,277	2,765	52.4	10	953	34.5	1,009	214	101	39	39	C.O.	
ESSEX	3	1,850	1,070	57.8	2	182	17.0	71	70	31	2	3	C.O.	
GOOCHLAND	7	2,479	1,407	56.7	7	183	13.0	858	107	46	36	7	C.O.	
GREENSVILLE	7	3,799	2,474	65.1	7			1,325	163	80	38	26	C.O.	
HALIFAX	18	7,793	4,165	52.4	16	270	6.5	1,921	400	165	66	22	C.O.	
ISLE OF WIGHT	6	4,695	3,046	64.9	6			1,649	213	113	44	43	C.O.	
KING & QUEEN	3	1,083	890	82.2	3			182	48	29		19	441-B	Acc.
KING WILLIAM	2	1,383	954	71.0	2			362	59	33		26	441-B	Acc.
LOUISA	12	3,615	1,851	51.2	9(2)	510	27.5	310	144	52	27	9	441-B	Acc.
LUNENBERG	7	2,767	1,555	56.2	7	459	29.5	636	126	53	37	13	C.O.	
MECKLENBURG	17	6,904	3,950	57.2	16	995	25.2	1,814	322	155	79	35	C.O.	
MIDDLESEX	4	1,377	729	52.9	4	320	43.9	265	66	26	15	7	C.O.	
NANSEMOND	18	9,756	6,206	63.6	8	908	14.6	0	406	240	32	7	441-B	Rtj.

VIRGINIA

TABLE II (Continued)

Districts	No. of Sch.	Enrollment			Desegregation				Faculty				Type of Comp. Plan	Fed. Aid Status
		Total	Black	% Black	No. Sch. Des.	Blacks in Wht. Schools	% Blacks Deseg.	Whites in Blk. Schools	Total	Black	Blacks in Min. Sit.	Wht. in Min. Sit.		
NEW KENT	2	1,321	744	56.3	2			577	62	28	11	16	C.O.	
PRINCE EDWARD	5	1,708	1,660	97.2	5(2)			48	73	56		17	C.O.	
SOUTHAMPTON	15	4,643	3,334	71.8	8(2)	595	17.8	2	201	122	20	13	C.O.	
SURRY	3	1,288	1,288	100.					56	56			C.O.	
SUSSEX	10	3,082	2,382	77.3	8	225	9.4	289	134	58	9	13	C.O.	
WESTMORELAND	6	2,563	1,735	67.7	4(2)	314	18.1	2	110	57	12	15	441-B	Acc.

(1) Includes schools with fewer than 10 blacks. Accomack has 6 such schools.

(2) Includes schools with fewer than 10 whites. Caroline has 1 such school; Prince Edward 3; Southampton 1; Westmoreland 1.

(3) Brunswick and Northampton, 58.7 and 54.2% black in 1960, were not included in the forms sent by HEW.

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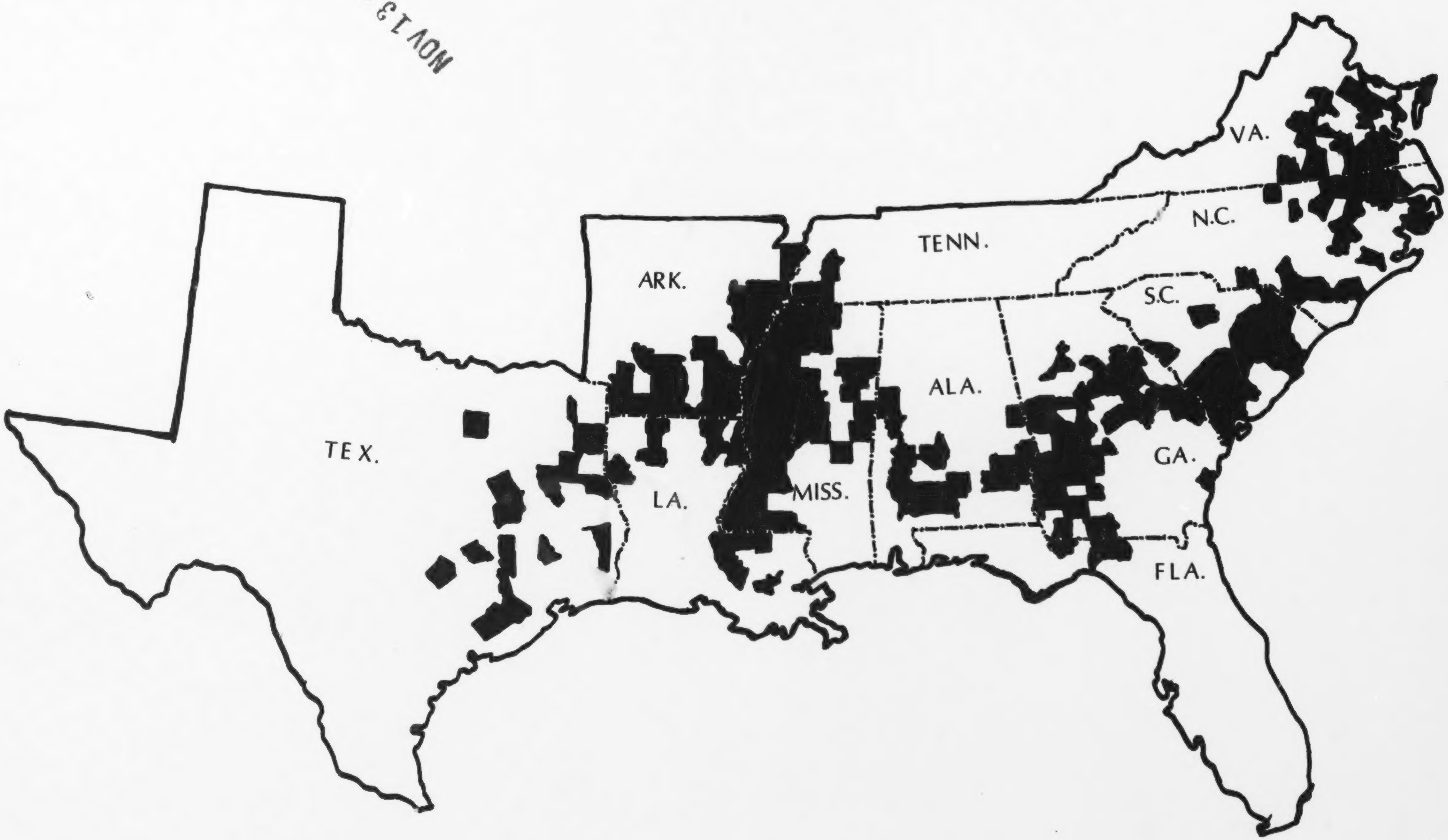

MAJORITY-BLACK SCHOOL DISTRICTS—The dark areas represent counties in the 11 Southern states having at least one school district with a total enrollment over 50 per cent black.